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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Sea-board Slave-States.....	25	Jamaica.....	38
The Slave-trade	27	Slave Insurrection in the South ..	39
Dr. Livingston on Africa	28	The Outrages in Kansas.....	41
Notice.....	31	Reviews.....	46
Re-opening of the African Slave-trade.....	31	Appeal on behalf of the Sufferers in Kansas,	46
The Slave-trade to Turkey	36	Donations and Subscriptions.....	48
Imprisonment of Coloured Seamen.....	37		

THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

THE comments of our author on the relative value of land in Virginia and Pennsylvania, given in our last, added to the fact, that notwithstanding its low cost price in the former State, immigrants and capitalists are not attracted to it, naturally lead to an inquiry into

THE CAUSE OF THE COMPARATIVE POVERTY OF VIRGINIA.

Mr. Olmsted says:

"This is a question often asked, and is one of direct personal interest to many at the North; to capitalists, for instance, who are urged to invest their funds in Virginia lands, mines, and other stocks, and to creditors of the State, and of corporations and individuals in the State. It is especially interesting to a large class of persons who would prefer to live in a milder climate than that of any of the free States, but who are withheld from immigrating to Virginia by the potent fact, that wealth has not accumulated to the people at large in that State, with any thing like the ease and rapidity that it has to those of the adjoining Northern States.

"I am myself one of this class, and it certainly was a great temptation to me, while I was enjoying the delightful January climate of Virginia, to be offered any amount of land which I was certain could be easily made to produce, under good tillage, twenty-five or thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, within twenty-four hours of New York by rail, and forty-eight by water-carriage; exactly one fortieth of the price, by the acre, at which I could sell my New-York farm. And, since my return from the South, I have been several times consulted by persons, some of them of

considerable estate, who had determined, more or less definitely, to remove to Virginia, induced thereto by such letters as the following, which are constantly addressed to Northern capitalists, farmers, and skilled labourers or manufacturers, by Virginia land-owners. This particular one I take from the *American Agriculturist*, to the editor of which it was directed, and by whom it was published, gratis and without comment, as such advertisements usually are in our agricultural newspapers:

"VIRGINIA—INDUCEMENTS FOR NORTHERN MEN TO INVEST CAPITAL.—Why is it that capitalists do not seek for a home in Western Virginia? Why is it that manufacturers do not explore this delightful country? Is it not worth their notice? Are there no inducements offered here for the honest, industrious labourer? I will offer some reasons why men of the North should look to the South for a home for themselves and offspring. Western Virginia is, in the first place, one of the most desirable portions of the Southern States. Every facility is here offered for the investment of capital. Our mountains teem with rich ores of every kind; our lands blossom with golden harvests; the rippling streams that gurggle down our mountain-slopes furnish every variety of water-power, easily adapted to the propelling of machinery. The States west and south furnish a ready market for the sale of manufactured articles or agricultural products. The farmers here are dependent, notwithstanding the facilities of manufacturing, to a very great extent, upon the North for all their implements of husbandry and household articles. Suppose, then, that we had some fifty or a hundred different manufacturing establishments in Western Virginia, it would

supersede the necessity of importing such things from abroad as waggons, buggies, clocks, brooms, rakes, shoes, boots, coats, pants, &c. Every merchant in the Southern and Western States supplies his customers with these articles from the North. Now, suppose for one moment that our merchants can buy from the Northern manufacturers, and pay the carriage upon articles gotten up there, and sold to the Southern States at fine profit, is it not reasonable to suppose, if the article was manufactured here, the amount now consumed in transportation would be saved to the manufacturer located here upon the spot, and make him a handsome profit?

"No man can form an adequate idea of the extent of this trade, unless he travel through the Southern States. Scarcely a broom, a clock, a boot, or shoe, or any thing of the kind, is used in the South that is not manufactured by Northern industry; and yet all articles used can be readily manufactured here as well as there, and, if taken hold of by some enterprising men, would be found more profitable. In fact, several Northern men have already settled in Northern Virginia, and are now pushing forward a happy and prosperous trade. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad will soon be completed, along the line of which an immense traffic must be conducted. Then have you no thorough-going business men, who cannot find employment at the North, and who cannot earn more than a mere livelihood? If so, I advise them to turn their faces at once toward Western Virginia, where the smiles of Providence and the rays of a Southern sun will cheer and animate them in their rapid strides to happiness and wealth."

"Here is another one, ingeniously contrived for wide-awake people who read the *Tribune*, and are supposed to have prejudices:

"The effects of Slavery in this region have only been such as to render it a more profitable locality for the new settler, provided, always he does not suffer himself to be engrafted with its spirit. This suggests to my mind another observation, taken from the experience of settlers from the North. A single family, of New-England habits and tastes, settling among neighbours of the slave-holding, work-hating class, becomes, in a short time, tired of the isolation from all the friends and the habits to which they have been accustomed, and disgusted with the condition of things they find around them. The wife misses her relations and neighbours, and her Sunday-meeting, and, after a year or two of trial, declares she will stay no longer; the children want the ready companionship of more thickly populated districts; and the experiment is given up, not because it will not pay in a pecuniary sense, but for the reasons I have mentioned. Now, to obviate this difficulty, let families come and settle in groups, or let a new settler, in selecting a location, choose one in a neighbourhood already occupied with small farmers or mechanics of his own class, with whom he can associate, and whose example will back him in continuing his system of working with his own hand. This plan has been adopted, as you are aware, in some of the north-eastern counties of Virginia, which now contain a population of active, intelligent, and prosperous farmers and mechanics, from non-slaveholding States, while single set-

tlements in other equally favourable localities have been abandoned. The price of land in the lower counties of this State varies from three to fifty dollars an acre. In many situations, land of good quality can now be bought, covered with timber, valuable either for fuel or for shipbuilding, in close proximity to water-carriage or to a line of railroad, at eight or ten dollars an acre. The clearing of the land will often pay most or all the cost, leaving a soil of good quality, and easily cultivated, and which, from the nature of things, must rapidly enhance in value."

"I have read at least a hundred such advertisements in different Northern newspapers: a dozen were printed in the *Daily Times*, contemporaneously with my own letters from the South; and in the more pro-slavery journals they may be seen, in one form or another, almost weekly."

"When Virginia gentlemen thus carefully argue the advantages which their State offers to an immigration from the Free States; and when they publicly urge that Slavery is no obstacle, but the contrary, to the success of such immigrants; it seems to me they have no business to stigmatize as impertinent, Northern curiosity to learn all about the matter."

"Even the condition of the slaves, moral and material, the Internal Slave Trade, the effects of slavery on the character of the people, I consider to be as distinctly a part of the general rural economy of the country, as legitimately connected with the value of public stocks, and as pertinent a subject of inquiry, as any of those points with regard to which every farmer in the United States was required to give information, under the head of crops and live-stock, in the census of 1850. Nor do I believe that justice or kindness to the Slave States, or regard to the stability of the Union, can be opposed to a thorough—so it be honest—investigation of the condition of those States, and study of the causes of that condition."

"Let me frankly, and with the most respectful and friendly disposition towards those who disagree with me, state my convictions on this subject."

"Very little candid, truthful, and unprejudiced public discussion has yet been had on this vexed subject of Slavery. The extremities of the South esteem their opponents as madmen or robbers; and invariably misrepresent, misunderstand, and, consequently, entirely fail to meet their arguments. The extremists of the North esteem the slaveholders as robbers and tyrants, wilfully and malevolently oppressive and cruel. But I suppose more has been done, to prevent reasonable views and judicious action by those, both North and South, who have held moderate and more reasonable opinions, than by those of either of the extreme parties. I mean that, in the endeavour to suppress agitation, they have produced an unhealthy distrust, and an unsound and dangerous condition of the public mind. In the feverish effort to secure peace, they have forgotten, as is now apparent, the easiest lessons of history, and disregarded the simplest demands of prudence. 'Men,' says Macaulay, 'are never so likely to settle a question rightly, as when they discuss it freely.' The principle is at the basis of free institutions. Its reverse is the apex of despotism. The attempt to suppress discussion has

given every advantage to the unterrified partisans on both sides, who assume to fight for truth and rights.

"Since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I presume no one doubts, whatever he may desire, that Slavery must continue to be an important, if not an engrossing element in our politics. It is impossible that it should not, while slaves are an important article of commerce, and while their value can be materially affected by the national legislation. Speculation on such legislation will occur, and will be guarded against, and there will be more or less consideration of the constitutional rights of each side of the Union, according as the people are rightly informed and honestly dealt with by politicians.

"Northern men have, at present, too little information about the South that has not come to them in a very inexact, or in a very suspicious form, as in novels and narratives of fugitive slaves. Northerners travelling in the South are generally merchants, looking after their personal business; invalids, sauntering through the winter in sunny places; or wealthy people, looking for pleasure to the society of the hospitable wealthy. There is but little Southern literature; and what there is, is mainly imaginative or controversial. Of the masses of the South, black and white, it is more difficult for one to obtain information, than of those of any country in Europe. I saw much more of what I had not anticipated, and less of what I had, in the Slave States, than, with a somewhat extended travelling experience, in any other country I ever visited.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We take the following from recent American files. The statements shew what advantage is taken of the American colours, and the necessity of some treaty by which slave-trading should be considered and treated as piracy.

"The trial of Baptista and Stabell, the parties charged with running and fitting out the schooner *C. F. A. Cole*, at this port, for the slave-trade, is now in progress in the United-States' District Court in Baltimore. A witness, who was cabin-boy on the voyage from Baltimore to the slave-coast of Africa, and back to Segua la Grande Cuba, with a cargo of 335 slaves, gave an interesting account of the voyage. He testified, through an interpreter, as follows: He went out last December, in the schooner *Cole*, from Baltimore; Captain Baker went along; the vessel went from here to the coast of Africa; went first to Cabindo; they were two months going to Camodo; a passenger named Drummond left the vessel there; the vessel stopped there one day; the vessel then cruised out one month, and then went into the river Congo. They went into the river between eleven and twelve o'clock in the day time; they anchored in the river, and waited for people from the brig *Dolphin* to visit them. An officer came on board the schooner and asked for all the papers on the vessel; the officer tried to see what was on board of her; Antonio Silva, the mate, raised the American colours, and said they had no right to search an American vessel. They then gave the officer as much liquor as he could drink: he got drunk and went ashore. That is

the usual treatment to officers when they come on board. That night they went up the coast to Devil's Point, and anchored. Captain Labradada and two men went ashore, and the captain again came aboard with the cabin-passenger: they landed at Cabindo. They discharged cargo, and the negroes began to come on board in ten and twelve, all fastened by the neck, in boats. Some 335 negroes came on board eight or nine boats bringing them off. The negroes were all on board by eight or nine o'clock in the day-time. The vessel lay one or two miles from shore. They landed from the vessel nothing except whisky and lumber. They sailed from Devil's Point about one o'clock that day, the vessel going to Segua la Grande, Cuba: they were thirty-five days in making the voyage. About thirty-five of the negroes died on the passage. The passengers who got out at Cabindo came to Cuba with them. The negroes were put down in the hold, on a deck laid over the water-casks, and fed on beans and bread and rice. When they put the negroes ashore at Cuba they went in the day-time, landed the negroes after seven o'clock, and came out at night. Six men were discharged after landing the negroes at Cuba. Only eight men were on board when they came out from Cuba—Baker, Silva, witness, and five men. Captain Labradady, Antonio, Pollens, a passenger named Lippold Drummond, Frank Labradada (a cousin of the captain), and the cook, got out at Cuba. Four men were discharged in the *Chesapeake* before the vessel was sunk: they were on vessels from Baltimore. Captain Baker, Antonio, witnesses, and two others, were on the vessel when she was sunk, about eight o'clock at night. The holes were bored in her in the bay: she was run ashore, the plugs taken out, and she was let go. Nothing was taken from the vessel before she sunk. Witness shipped for Madeira, wishing to get to his own home at Cadiz, Spain: before they left the vessel, after she was sunk, three pilots came aboard the next morning. The mate, Antonio Silva, left Piney Point the next day they got there; the others went up to Washington in a steamer three days after. Witness then came to Baltimore, and went off that evening. The chronometer on board Labradada took ashore with him at Segua la Grande, Cuba."—(*Philadelphia Ledger*.)

The subjoined is from a December number of the *New-York Journal of Commerce*:

"Another slaver has sailed from this port within a few days past. She was closely watched; but the officers of the Government were unable to detect any thing which would justify them in detaining her. The fact has already been noticed, that in the estimates or appropriations for the ensuing year, provision is made for a liberal sum to aid in the suppression of the illegal traffic; and there is good reason to believe that the general Government is in earnest in its efforts in this direction. Suggestions have recently been made with the design of pointing out some way in which the fitting-out of slavers in ports of the United States might be prevented. The proposal to compel vessels in the African trade to take crews made up wholly of native-born citizens is no doubt entitled to much weight. It is not likely that men of this character would knowingly engage in slave-trading under the penalties to

which they would be liable, if the fact could be proved; and it is still more improbable that such men would be wanted in business of this nature, for they would be too accessible to the officers of the law, and too communicative to answer the purpose. Portuguese are infinitely preferable. they are roving, irresponsible, and friendless, converse in a foreign tongue, and, when bound for the coast of Africa, never know their destination, employers, or any circumstance connected with their business. But there are still other restrictions which might prove equally effective. As is well known, slave-vessels are generally procured from parties in this city, but, after leaving port, seldom return, being burnt, scuttled, or run ashore, as soon as their cargo is landed. In the opinion of eminent legal authority, which we might name, and one who has devoted much thought to the subject, bonds should be given to the satisfaction of the collector of the port by parties sending vessels to the coast of Africa, that their ships should return within a specified period; and all persons who knowingly engage in building, fitting out, furnishing supplies, men, &c., for a vessel to be engaged in the slave-trade, should be punished for their participation in the crime. The number of men engaged in this traffic is surprisingly small. Even among the men composing their crew, it is not unusual to find one or more who have been previously detected in unlawful expeditions. Although there are some serious difficulties to be overcome in the attempt, it still appears to be practicable to enact and enforce such laws as shall carry consternation into the camp of these conspirators, and redeem the national flag from the dishonour in which they would so unscrupulously involve it, converting the insignia of liberty into a cover for monstrous crimes."

In addition to the above, we append an extract from a letter from Cuba, addressed to the Editor of the *Charleston Courier*, on the slave-trade to that island. The letter is dated November 1st ult.

"An American bark, I am sorry to say, landed a cargo of 600 African slaves last Sunday week at La Punta de Teja, some little distance above Cardenas, near the Rio de Palma, I believe. They were taken to the sugar estate of Senor Don Gregorio Menendez, of whom Senor Don Leon Manhurtu is the Procurateur-Attorney, Senor Menendez not being in this island. General Concha, it is said, received 3 ounces (51 dollars) for permitting each of these 600 negroes to be landed, and his deputies 1½ ounces (25 dol. 50 cents) for each negro so landed."

DR. LIVINGSTON ON AFRICA.

THE important information contained in the following letter, addressed by the distinguished African explorer, the Rev. Dr. Livingston, to the editor of the *Times*, must plead our excuse for the introduction of so lengthy an article. It appears to have been elicited by certain remarks made in a leader, a few days prior to the date of the letter, and of which the tendency was to shew, that the cultivation of cotton in Africa, by native labour, would probably only transfer the

slave system from the American to the African continent. Dr. Livingston's contradiction of this pro-slavery argument will be read with satisfaction by the friends of the negro. That it should have appeared in the columns of the *Times* cannot be considered surprising, when we find a writer of leaders in this journal stating that Slavery and Christianity are compatible. We have more faith in the morality of public sentiment on this subject, in this country at least, than to believe that such an opinion is shared by any considerable section of our fellow-countrymen.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'TIMES.'

"SIR,—There certainly would be no increase in the general happiness of the world by the simple transference of the slave-labour system of cotton-growing from the Southern States of America to either one portion or another of the African continent; but, as I believe it improbable that such a system—one of monstrous wrong to the black, and bad neighbourhood, with a tendency to political tyranny, to the white—will be the result of our encouraging the Africans to produce the raw materials of our manufactures on their own soil, I shall endeavour to give a general view of the social and political relations of the tribes with which I am best acquainted, as it is on the peculiarities of these that my belief is founded; and you will then be able to decide whether I have been led to my conclusion by sober reason or by too sanguine hopes.

"The government of most of the African tribes is patriarchal. Each man becomes head or chief of his own family and their dependants. The children build their huts around a spot called the 'kotla,' which answers to the 'gate' in ancient times. Above these paternal chiefs there are influential men, allied by either blood or marriage to the chief of the town or tribe. They have a number of kotlas under them, and are often termed Barenana—'little lords;' or by another word, meaning 'little great old ones.' The chief (Morena or Kosi—lord or king), with his cattle pen and kotla in the centre of the town, is head over all. When a man cannot manage his son, he appeals to his 'little lord' for assistance; and when a man of one kotla has a complaint against one of another kotla, the case is brought by these 'little lords' before the chief. If a case requiring little consideration, the chief decides on the evidence, which is given orally, the witness always standing. Should it be a matter of more importance, or any public question, the chief sends for all his lords, and the case is reheard in their presence. They utter their opinions freely, and the chief sums up their opinions, taking the same view or not, as the case may be, with the majority. If a man of decision of character, he carries it his own way; if otherwise, they generally carry it in theirs. The chief seldom adopts any measure directly contrary to public opinion. One or two decided opponents will make him waver and hesitate, and perhaps have recourse to the dice or divination. The elders, or lords, are guided by a number of maxims or proverbs, which seem to have come down to them by tradition. These remarks refer chiefly to the tribes south of 18° south latitude. In the country of the true negro, which lies north of that point

the political relations, though generally the same, are somewhat modified by female influence; but the general relation of one tribe to another is the same in all which came under my observation. One tribe is perfectly independent of another, except by a sort of traditionary bond, which will become developed in cases of invasion or common danger. It seems to have arisen from having had a common origin, and it became partially apparent when a late Colonial Governor made the enormous mistake of pretending to place himself in the traditional headship of the Caffre family. A better plan for rousing every particle of patriotism and loyalty of the most devoted people on earth could not have been devised than that of what, to an Englishman, will appear a very simple affair, viz. appointing a European Kosinkolu instead of a poor Caffre one with a withered leg. Universally it must have been felt as a stab at their entire nationality. If we speak of it without reference to right and wrong, a knowledge of the African political constitution would have led any man, with his wits about him, to imitate the conduct of the English Government with the Highland chiefs—quietly bought up the power of the under chiefs, or subsidized them, and then the Kosinkolu would have given no more trouble than did the descendants of our Pretender.

"Among the Bechuanas there is no paramount chief, though they refer themselves to a common origin. They are more effeminate than the Caffres, and those of them who were subjugated by Moschkatze gave no trouble to the Boers, who very wisely sidled away from Caffres, of whom they universally entertain a very wholesome dread. When they (the Boers) wish to appear valiant, they name the Bechuanas 'Caffres,' and may, without much danger, 'perform brilliant services before the enemy;' seeing our Government at the Cape prevents the Bechuanas from receiving supplies of gunpowder—although they never gave us any trouble—and allows a free supply to the Boers, who have. Among the negroes beyond 18° the system of paramount chiefs prevails in somewhat greater force than in Caffreland. Matiamvo is the paramount chief of a very widely-scattered tribe called Balonda, or Balunda; but the various chiefs who profess subjection to him are perfectly independent, yet use his name as a sort of bugbear to each other, and every few years send him a present. Cazembe calls himself a vassal of Matiamvo too, and has an hereditary claim to be general-in-chief to him in somewhat the same way one of our Scottish peers does in reference to his clan. Monomotapa (Lord Motapa) often named by the Portuguese the 'Emperor,' is another of the paramount chiefs; but, though formerly subsidized by the Portuguese, and honoured with a guard of European troops, is certainly not such a powerful man as Sandillah in Caffreland.

Now, these various chiefs, though nearly independent of each other, are by no means independent of their people. Suppose a man is dissatisfied with one chief, he can easily transfer himself to another; and as a chief's importance increases with the number of his followers, fugitives are always received with open arms. The chief of the Balobale, who are west of the Balonda, (12° and 13° S. lat., 23° E. long.,) sold some of his people a few years ago to Mambari. The conse-

quence was, whole villages passed over to the Balonda, and we saw them as an important part of the population under Shinte. Slavery invariably produces bad neighbourhood. Nearly all the Portuguese wars have had this element in them — 'they received and kept our fugitive slaves.' So constantly is this the case, I cannot conceive a cordial friendship between the United States and England, till either a Fugitive Slave Act is operative in Canada and England, or Slavery is abolished in the South. In Africa, an extensive slave system could not be carried out anywhere except in the spaces enclosed in the deep reedy rivers of the Great Valley. One of the queens of the Sebituane tried to escape thence to the South; but, though accompanied by eight attendants, she got so entangled in the branches of the rivers, as to be obliged, after a month's absence, to give herself up. In all the other parts of the country the facilities for escape are so great, that the slave system, even though it were desirable to establish it, could not be worked. Would it be necessary? Take the most free and independent persons in the country, the Bushman and Bakalahari: they kill and prepare upwards of 30,000 small animals, the skins of which are taken annually to the Cape in the shape of 'karosses.' Ultimately many of them purchase tea in China. Three or four traders manage the whole affair. Ask an American, and he would answer that these animals could only be collected from the desert by slave-labour.

"Then, in Angola a very large amount of ivory, bees'-wax, and palm and sweet-oil is exported. We met hundreds of people carrying these articles to the coast. The Balonda and Ambonda collect most bees'-wax by means of hives, which we saw, at distances of a few miles, on trees in the forest. They are not given to steal each others' honey, from a fear of medicine being placed on the trees. For the most part, nearly all the wax is collected by perfectly free agency, though to one sitting in Loando the amount seems enormous. And so of the palm and sweet-oil. It is produced by independent negroes; and had they roads, as I recommended they should have, in Angola, the produce would be multiplied a hundredfold. I say this, because of the cheap rate at which these articles may be obtained from the cultivators in the interior, and the very wonderful predilection which all Africans have for barter. In connection with this subject, I may mention, that, before our cruisers were so increased in number as to repress the trade in slaves, the traders went inland and purchased slaves sufficient to carry the wax, ivory, &c., they could find, to the coast. Both were sold for exportation. But when our cruisers became, by increased numbers, more efficient, a new system was necessary; and now the Government of Angola compels the negroes living under it to render service in transporting merchandise, at a fixed rate, to the coast. This was pretty clear proof that the slave-trade was repressed, though it did not prove its entire suppression. We cannot always trace an untruth to its author. I had imbibed a Yankee notion that our cruisers only made bad worse, and increased by interference the horrors of the middle passage. My brother, a clergyman in the United States, heard a professor of political economy assert the same thing; and as our cousins like to

say remarkable things, it was added, 'England would adopt a more humane course were she to fit up a line like the Cunard to transport the negroes from Africa to Cuba in comfort.' I was led away by these and other statements made in Parliament. But in Angola I found 'the time of the slave-trade' spoken of in the past tense. I saw slaves sold for 12s., within 100 miles of the coast, who formerly would have commanded 70 dollars, and travelled with companies of slaves carried from Angola (chiefly women) to be bartered among the Balonda for ivory and wax. The entire trade is not closed, but it is so dangerous as to prevent any one, except a very few daring characters, risking their money in it. The heartiness manifested by all our officers in their work, and other things, made me rather ashamed of myself for imbibing what I could clearly see was rather a Yankee than an English notion, propagated probably, in the first place, by those who may have been interested indirectly in the slave-trade, and believed by those who were not, but had no means of testing its accuracy. The idea that the Africans could not produce cotton enough for the supply of England, on their own soil, I very much suspect is a Yankee notion too. Look at the insignificant island of the Mauritius, thirty-five miles long by twenty-five broad—a great piece of volcanic rock, and so little soil that the boulders which covered it must be placed in rows, as drystone dykes, in order to get space for the sugar cane; the holes are made for the cane between the rows, and a little guano added, for without that there would be no sugar; and when that part is exhausted, the dykes must all be moved on to the intervening spaces. The labour must all be brought by colonial money from India, and then English enterprise produces sugar equal in amount to one-fourth of the entire consumption of Great Britain. The population of this wonderful little island, 200,000, is entirely free: the labourers, happy, and comparatively free from the influence of caste, feel more friendly to Christianity and civilization, and often return home as such men to spend their after life in ease and quiet. Indeed, it is free labour which here, as in Angola, produces the large supply of the articles we need. The latter country contains a population of 600,000 souls, and only from five to seven per cent. are slaves.

"But it may be objected that the colonists of Natal cannot get free labour from the Caffres, and our Government must supply them with coolies. There can be no harm in quoting the Natalian's own words, as published from reports of public meetings in their own newspapers. The avowed object of the speakers at one meeting, a few years ago, was to induce the Government to grant Chinese or coolie labour, 'for then they would get English capital on the strength of it.' Now, I wish them to get some of it: they would make a much better use of it than the Emperor of Russia would; but, though desirous to see them prosper, I think it will be in their power to remember that Caffre labour by the thousand was at their door at 7s. 6d. a month; and if a *Times* Commissioner had gone out, they would both have left off their clamour for 'labour' and for a Caffre war, for these '*Times*' people are sad fellows for putting the ends of things together. The attempt by a commission to get up a

Caffre war produced the opinion of the Recorder of Natal, 'that history does not present another instance in which greater security was enjoyed of both life and property than had been enjoyed by the Natalians during the period of English occupation.' Mr. Cloete, the Recorder, is a gentleman of Dutch descent, of distinguished impartiality of judgment, and eminent in legal attainments. And then they were told, *nem. con.*, in the Commission, that nearly all those who were clamouring for labour were so unable to employ labour, that they had actually come to the colony in search of employment. I wish them success; but you will see whether their want of labour means more than want of capital, and whether the case has any bearing on the question, producing cotton by free labour in Africa.

"With respect to the fertility of the soil I have very little doubt, because cotton is already cultivated, though of inferior quality. It is short in the pile. In Cazengo, a district of Angola, 1200 cloths, each six feet long by three broad, is the annual tribute of the free population to Government. There is bees'-wax in great abundance in the interior, but the people eat the honey and throw the wax away. Coffee, wheat, sugar, and indigo, were formerly exported from Tete. The country in many parts is quite covered with wild vines, but the grapes are bad. There is abundance of specular iron ore and the black oxide, but I have spoken of these elsewhere. The wheat grows on parts flooded by the Zambese; and this river inundates large patches of country annually, exactly as the Nile does. Indeed, it rises in a great valley, containing extensive collections of water with islands. And, as the view of Sir R. Murchison respecting the formation of Africa was remarkably confirmed by my observations, made without the remotest idea of his having enunciated it clearly three years before, I think it highly probable that the Zambese and Nile rise in one great valley. The Valley of the Nile between Cairo and Alexandria is the exact counterpart to the Valley of the Barotse, between 16° and 14½° south latitude, and 23° east longitude.

"My principal object in referring to these matters in the present paper is, to take advantage of your wide circulation to utter a sort of protest against any rash speculations being made in connection with them. The ports called Barra Catrina, and Melumbe, at the real mouths of the Zambese, ought to be examined by competent persons, if the opinion of the late Captain Parker, who was killed at the mouth of the Danube, and who is said to have been delighted with the branch called Luabo or Cuama, cannot be found at the Admiralty. The river of Quillimane, which I came down, is not the Zambese at all. When I left that river it was flowing rapidly, with about three-quarters of a mile of deep water. It remains high during five months of the year, i.e. a small steamer would scarcely run aground anywhere within 300 miles of the coast; and during the remaining months there is a deep channel, rather winding, and shifting from year to year. There is a shifting, too, of the large reedy island in the river below Lupata. The healthiest period of the year—May, June, and July—corresponds with the time of medium height of the water. The country is uninter-

esting until you go through the gorge of Lupata. The numerous islands where, before the late war, twenty-four fowls could be bought for two fathoms of strong unbleached calico, and grain equally cheap, are now depopulated. The Portuguese Government has made the ports of the eastern coast free, and certain privileges are granted to any one who may discover and work a mine. The country, especially that north of the Zambese, is remarkably fertile, and the people cultivate largely; yet I would recommend nothing but a small outlay in any attempt to develop the resources of the country. Any thing on a grand scale would be sure to fail, because it is so very difficult to get the proper agency; for however good men may appear at home, when freed from the restraints of public opinion, and the thousand other influences which bear upon them in England, they do often act in the most unaccountable manner. Let but little be attempted at first, and when success in the small way is attained, operations can easily be extended: your men will then be known too. If, for instance, an attempt were made to develop the coal-trade, there would be no great difficulty in a small armed steamer going up the Zambese 300 miles to the parts around Tete, where the seams crop out of the surface. One seam could be reached by going up, in flat-bottomed boats, a river sixty or eighty yards broad, called Revubue (Revubwe), which falls into the Zambese on the north bank, about two miles below the fort. These flat-bottomed boats would approach to within two or three miles of the seam, and, but for a small cascade in the Revubwe, they could enter the tributary of the Revubwe in which the seam exists. It is situate in the perpendicular bank, and, measured from the level of the stream, it is forty-eight inches in diameter, a few inches of shale, then another of ten inches—fifty-eight inches of coal in all. The dip of the seam is inclined upwards, so no machinery for drainage would be required. Close by the coal has been converted into coke by volcanic action. Another tributary of the Revubwe, which enters nearly opposite this, contains another seam, and there are others higher up, or northwards. I have brought specimens for the museum in Jermyn Street, under Sir R. Murchison, whose opinion will be decisive as to the value or worthlessness of the mineral. Should such a speculation be successful, accurate information of the commercial value of other articles would, in the mean time, be secured. I am not qualified by a commercial education to give any opinion, and others equally clever might not succeed in gaining the affections of the natives. With me, indeed, it has been a work of time, and I have profited much by the kindness of those with whom I have lived in giving me a good name. But any one may keep a civil tongue in his head, and avoid espousing the quarrels of others, as the English have done those of the Boers with the Caffres. Let it always be remembered, that slave-keeping is bad neighbourhood: 'If you don't give up my runaway slave you are my enemy.' This has been the root of many a war.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"DAVID LIVINGSTON.

"Kendal, Dec. 24."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1857.

Notice.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

WE beg respectfully to remind our friends that Subscriptions to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* are payable in advance, and due from the 1st of January in every year. We would especially request all who are about to commence taking in our publication, to order it direct from the office of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and not through a bookseller. If ordered through the latter channel, we cannot hold ourselves responsible for delays in the delivery: delays which too frequently occur, we regret to learn, but which are not attributable to us. We have announced, in previous notices, that booksellers do not—as a rule—care to take any trouble to dispose of a publication on the sale of which the profit is trifling, and not compensated for by the number sold. Hence many regular subscribers who obtain their copies through the ordinary medium of "the trade," as it is called, do not get supplied until late in the month, instead of on the 1st at latest.

Subscriptions may be paid either in postage-stamps, or by Post-office order. If the latter, they should be payable only to Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Bishopsgate Street Within.

The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* will be found to contain the latest intelligence on the subject of the anti-slavery movement in America, Great Britain, Holland, Portugal, Spain, &c., and much varied and useful information connected therewith. It is published on the 1st of every month, (in time for booksellers' parcels,) its price being Four Shillings *per annum*, stamped; Three Shillings unstamped. All communications should be addressed to the Editor at No. 27 New Broad Street, and such as are intended for publication, as well as advertisements, must not be later than the 22d of the month.

Agents for the West Indies required. The following firm has consented to act for

Barbados—Messrs. London, Bourne, and Son, Bridgetown.

RE-OPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

WE resume our extracts from the *Charleston Standard*, on the re-opening of the African slave-trade. It is a gratifying indication of the sentiments of the British people on this subject, so far as they can be gathered from the press, that, without an exception, our daily and weekly journals have condemned the project in unmeasured terms, as contrary to the spirit of the age, and as involving, if

carried into effect, the contingency of a war of principle. We have never been of the number who believed that any attempt to re-open the African slave-trade would succeed. We were aware of the desire of an ultra section of the Southern oligarchy to see this infamous traffic revived, and of the efforts that would be made to induce the Federal Government to sanction its re-establishment. Any time within the last three years these sentiments have been unblushingly avowed. But it seemed to us, that in presence of the general reprobation of mankind, and of the treaties for the suppression of slave-trading, to which every civilized power is a party, the question would be surely negatived, if it ever came to be seriously discussed by a deliberative assembly. Assuming it to be done, however, the capital of the trading world would be very soon directed to defeat the object for which the traffic in Africans had been revived. The Southern States are not the only cotton-fields in the world. Indeed, had the British Government been as thoroughly earnest in its opposition to Slavery as we believe the nation at large is, we should not at this hour have been dependent on the slaveholders of the South for the staple which keeps the mills of Manchester in motion, and forms the principal article of national export. A comparatively small sum devoted to the development of the indigenous cotton-fields of our West-India colonies, of our East-India possessions, and to the encouragement of the production of cotton-wool in Africa and Australia, would certainly have yielded great results, if we are to accept the testimony of the best informed men on this subject. Probably the pressure of a sufficient motive has not made itself felt, and apathy has been the consequence. Principle is the last motive to which, generally speaking, any Government yields, or the exclusion of slave-grown commodities from our markets had formed an essential element in our commercial policy, as a logical sequence to the Act of Emancipation. Leaving this part of the question, however, it may be presumed, that were the Federal Government to commit the grievous error of sanctioning the re-opening of the slave-trade, the sufficient motive would be furnished to Great Britain for attempting forthwith to obtain cotton from other sources than are now open to us, and the infallible result would be, that the cotton-fields of the Southern States would speedily be thrown out of cultivation for want of buyers of their staple product. There are many other considerations which occur to us, equally valid against the probability of so retrograde a movement. As our space is limited, we can give only one of them, and we submit it in the form of a question. Has it ever occurred to the advocates of the scheme to inquire what would be the position of the Government that should

attempt to carry it into effect, in defiance of the feelings and opinions of humanity? Assuredly the morality of the Northern section of the Union is not to be measured by a very high standard, seeing how basely it has pandered to the slave-power. Still, we believe, the South might go too far, and that such a measure as we are now discussing would produce an immediate rupture. The South must then isolate itself with its institutions, from the North, and form an independent Federation, having the North, with its wealth, its intelligence, its industry, its enterprise, its free-labour, its power, and sentiment opposed to it. The consequences are obvious. So much, then, for the results of the scheme considered domestically. And how would such a Federation stand in relation to European Governments? Is there one that durst form an alliance with it, and risk being branded as the associate of felons? What Government durst conclude a commercial treaty with it, to protect the merchandize of thieves? Such a Government, standing like Cain on the outside of civilization, must sink into the lowest abyss of infamy and deterioration, and relapse into the most hopeless barbarism. With such a prospect, is it probable the scheme could receive the sanction necessary to carry it into execution? Emphatically, No.

Our readers are probably aware, that in his recent message the Governor of South Carolina deliberately advocated the revival of the traffic. Did our space permit, we would furnish a few extracts from this disgraceful document. The very fact of a personage in authority's having given the subject prominence in a State Paper, shews how vitiated the public mind of that particular State must have become from contact with Slavery in all its forms, when it tolerates sentiments so infamous. The discussions that ensued in the House of Representatives, on the 26th of November, on the motion of Mr. E. B. Bryan to refer the question of the restoration of the African slave-trade to a Special Committee of seven, was characterized by considerable opposition. The motion was ultimately agreed to, chiefly, as it appears to us, out of respect to the forms of the House, and there being a very decided impression, that though Congress must take the subject into consideration, should the Special Committee refer it to that assembly, there was no probability of the proposals obtaining "even decent support."

The parties entertaining this opinion proved themselves to be wise in their own generation. On the 15th of December, Mr. Etheridge of Tennessee asked consent to submit a resolution to the House of Representatives, couched in the following terms—a resolution which may be regarded as having been intended to anticipate the presentation of any memorial on the subject.

"Resolved, That this House of Representatives

regards all suggestions and propositions of every kind, by whomsoever made, for a revival of the African slave-trade, as shocking to the moral sentiment of the enlightened portion of mankind; and that any action on the part of Congress conniving at or legalizing that horrid and inhuman traffic would justly subject the Government and citizens of the United States to the reproach and execration of all civilized and Christian people throughout the world."

Several ineffectual attempts were made to amend the resolution, by reducing it to a simple declaration of the inexpediency of re-opening the African slave-trade, but the original motion was carried by a majority of 95, the Yeas being 152, the Nays 57. The correspondent of the *Washington New-York Tribune* says that nothing has so startled the Democracy during the whole excitement of the Thirty-fourth Congress, as this brilliant act of Mr. Etheridge's. Amongst those who voted in the minority, quite a number expressed themselves as decidedly opposed to the revival of the African slave-trade under any circumstances, but unable to vote for Mr. Etheridge's resolution, because it was "untimely," or "too full of reasons," or "out of place," or "unlikely to produce good results," or "uncalled for, the Message of the Governor of South Carolina not being before the House," or &c., &c.

We doubt not but the result of this discussion will much encourage the friends of Abolition in the hope that a similar fate awaits any similar attempt to revive a traffic that has long been condemned as wicked and infamous to the last degree.

The following are continuations of the articles on the subject from the Southern paper above mentioned.

LOVELINESS AND UTILITY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"The evil of Slavery is in the want of slaves. We ventured yesterday to bring the attention of our readers up again to the subject of the slave-trade, and to-day we would present some other aspects of that question. We have no doubt but that *all the obvious evil of Slavery is in the want of slaves*; and to the end of shewing that this is true, with respect to some of them at least, we address our present article.

"It is regarded, for instance, as an evidence of evil, that we are inferior to the North in improvement and in powers of legislation; but it is demonstrated that both these have occurred from the very cause which we have mentioned. *Before the abolition of the slave-trade, the South was even in advance of the North.* We had more wealth, more enterprise, and more political power; and while we have still continued to progress—while the products of our labour have continued valuable—we have only not kept pace with improvements at the North for the want of equal labour to effect them. The labour of our country has been tasked to cover a continually extending territory. The agricultural wants of such a wide domain was enough, and more than enough, for

the capacities of all our people, and there have been none to start into collateral pursuits; and in collateral pursuits, therefore, we have been left behind. *But if the slave-trade had been permitted to continue*, so that, without unnatural effort, we could have advanced upon the West; or if, without a widening West, our labour had been localized and forced to work upon itself within a restricted sphere; there is no room for the slightest question but that, in every branch of improvement, we would by this time have equalled any people, and *have led the North beyond the hope of competition.*

"Nor would there have been the political inequality between the North and South which now exists. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York, held slaves which they never gave away, and which they would not have given away, and which, in fact, they never would have sold to the South, if it had been more profitable to keep them. But, with most profitable agricultural products, and an unlimited expanse of the finest lands, we wanted labour, and were able to pay more for it than its value in these States. They could sell it to us, and hire free labour at a profit: and they did sell it; and thus from being Slave States they became Free States. And instead of being for us they became against us; and, joining with the other Northern States, they found their interest in preaching a crusade against an institution which, but for this accident, they would have been pledged by every consideration of feeling and interest to defend. This turned the balance of power against us; and, taking from us the sceptre of political influence, rendered it profitable at the North to become philanthropic: but if the slave-trade had continued open, they would have found no such profitable market for their slaves. Our wants would have been supplied from Africa cheaper than they could afford to supply them. Their slaves, though of less value to them than to us, were yet too valuable to have been disposed of without a very valuable consideration; and, not finding sale for them away, they would have found employment for them at home. These slaves would have increased and multiplied. New lines of employment for them would have given them additional value; and we doubt whether there are States in the Union more wedded to the institution than would have been those very States that now call the help of Heaven to put it down.

"Nor is this all that happened from the suppression of the trade to place us in the minority. The Southern States themselves are much less populous than they would have been. *From first to last there has been a constant want of labour.* Three millions of our people have perhaps as many slaves as they naturally require; *but there are three millions more who are unsupplied. They would take slaves if they could get them; but they are not to be had at prices which will enable them to be used in competition with the free-labour of the world.* All we have are wanted for agriculture; and even these are not enough. While all are employed, and employed most profitably, lands all over the country are parched and unprofitable for the want of labour, and millions more could have been absorbed. The labour of those brought one year would have paid for those to be brought the next; as employments

opened, white men of enterprise would have come in more abundantly than they have done; the stream of labour from Africa would have met a stream of enterprise from Europe; both would have poured in together; the population of the Southern States would have been more dense; the population of the Northern States would have been more sparse; Georgia would have been to New York as New York is now to Georgia; other States from Texas and New Mexico would have been brought in, and thus, if the slave States had held on to the sources of their real power, the South would have been the Union.

"Not only would this have been the material and political condition of the country, but there would have been no market for philanthropy. The South, possessed of patronage and power of government, would have been infinitely attractive; *poets and politicians would have vied with each other to make as much by their praise as they have made by their abuse of her*, and for that reason they would have praised beyond all reasonable conception. Like every other embodiment of sovereignty, her form would have been lovely, her opinions just, and from the whole Atlantic coast there would have been broadsides of literary artillery to open upon the Old World whenever she should fire a shot among us, that would have silenced her completely. *The evil of Slavery, therefore, so far as any is exhibited by a comparison between the North and South, has certainly consisted in the insufficient support it has received.* With slaves enough, (and we have no reason to believe that enough would not have been brought to us, for the merchants of the North and of England vied with each other to the last in supplying them,) it would be hard to say what might not have been the measure of our advancement; but without them we have failed in a contest, even with the North; and, as among nations as among men, success is the criterion of merit, the institution bears the censure properly attributable to the wants of it, and Slavery has been condemned and branded for the want of slaves.

"It has been said, and with great propriety, that we are under no necessary dependence upon the North, or, in fact, upon any other people; that if we fail of their good opinion, we can do without it; that if we fail of equality within the Union, we can quit it; and that thus we can do well enough upon our present population without the slave-trade; and its revival is at least objectionable, for the reason that it is unnecessary. We doubt, however, whether, in a condition of political independence, it may not be (if not necessary) at least vastly important; and to this question we will call attention in our next Number.

EVILS OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"In shewing yesterday that some, at least, of the evils of Slavery have been occasioned by the want of slaves, we presented the reasons for believing that *the inequality of the South to the North has been occasioned by the suppression of the slave-trade, and that equality would return, with all its consequences, upon its restoration.* It has been asked, however, why, if we make up our minds to quit the Union, should there be any bother about equality? 'If not equal to the North, we may be equal to the exigencies of in-

dependence, and that is enough.' We have no doubt but that we will be equal to all the exigencies of political independence without the slave-trade; but there will be this difficulty. In spite of all we may think or say about it, the whites and slaves have a necessary reference to each other: they are the natural correlatives and complements of one single system; and to the efficiency and order of that system there is a necessity that they shall be combined in due proportions. But while there are only about three millions and a half of slaves, there are more than six millions of masters; and this excess of the ruling race is necessarily in an unfixed and unnatural condition. They are teeming with energy and enterprise, for which there is no opportunity. In consequence of the restricted quantity of labour, it is dear beyond all precedent in any other country: there is no possibility and no hope of employing it in competition with the cheaper and more abundant labour elsewhere; and while, in virtue of our valuable products, we stand alone in the field of agriculture, we are cut off from the whole round of collateral employments.

"This fact has already been demonstrated by experience. We have public spirit enough; perhaps no people ever had so much of it. The books of our merchants and planters will shew investment after investment in undertakings that have failed of any profit. Hotels, factories, sugar-refineries, mills, and workshops, are erected; roads are built, canals are dug; they are undertaken with spirit; they are conducted with prudence and indefatigable energy. Men stake life and fortune on them; and all but those that are necessary to the local wants of some particular community go down. The great business of agriculture gives support to a few necessary callings. There must be lawyers, doctors, divines, teachers, journalists, millers, and machinists, in the immediate vicinity, to perform offices about this one great business; but there are no spheres of independent enterprise: and when these offices are all crowded to the limits of a bare subsistence, there is no opportunity beyond, and in the nature of things there cannot be, without increase of labour.

"The effects of this state of facts are exhibited all over the country. At the North, men make fortunes, and retire from business. Merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, landowners, proprietors, and operatives, are enriched by their employments, and by the rise in value of all kinds of property, and, building rural and city residences, become men of leisure. But there are comparatively no capitalists and men of leisure here. Merchants and planters acquire wealth in the pursuit of their legitimate business, and some are able to retire, but few acquire wealth in any collateral profession. Mechanics work until they can work no longer. Lawyers and doctors die in the harness. None become rich by the rise in the value of investments. Lands that have been held for thirty years have not advanced in price. One or two millions of dollars lie buried in the Santee Canal; factories, railroads, hotels, and foreign-commerce companies, mark the tombs of as much more. In consequence of this peculiarity in our condition, we have only the sinking side of the wheel of fortune turned to us. Its rising rim is with another people; and, if con-

tented with this condition, we must be contented, whether in the Union or out of it, with the consequences which necessarily result; and, for an extended period of time, one half the people must want, as for fifty years they have already wanted, opportunity. But give them labour, and we give wealth and the ability to make other investments to all the landowners of the State; give them labour, and we give them the ability to compete with enterprises elsewhere; give them this, and we give a local and a more abundant market; we render investments additionally productive, and we give capital, leisure, letters, and refinement to the whole country.

"We have no doubt that there would be great material advancement in a condition of political independence. White labour, at least, would come in, and would be gradually shaped to collateral objects, and works would rise and interests would expand, but it would come slowly. It would be drilled slowly into new lines of employment. These lines of employment it would require to be kept free from the competition of the slave. To do so, it would require legislation; and Slavery then, even in its own home, would come under the restrictions of an extrinsic sentiment. Such would be the result, at least, if the accessions to the number of our white labouring population should be as rapid as our wants for labour would require. That advancement, therefore, would come with independence to the Southern States, there can be little question. A new centre of commercial and mechanical enterprise would be established; but without the slave-trade this will not be the natural advancement of our institution. The danger is, that without the slave-trade it will rather be a departure from it. Interests would be built up here, as they have been built up elsewhere, from free labour, but they would have to start fresh from a new source. The start would be slow, they would come slowly to maturity. The enterprise of our people would still languish; the structure of society would not be so pure and homogeneous as it ought to be, in order to ensure the peace and order of which Slavery is capable; and even in this condition *we believe that the evil of Slavery would be in an insufficiency of slaves, and that the want of Slavery would still be the slave-trade.*

THE PRICE OF SLAVES.

"We come now to meet the argument that the slave-trade would reduce the value of slaves. We like this argument. It is clear of the maudlin philanthropy which so much embarrasses discussion on the subject. It assumes in theory what we assert in practice—that Slavery is right, and only renders it necessary for us to discuss the policy of the measure we propose; and the question of policy is very much more tangible. In the humble sphere in which it has pleased an overruling Providence to put us to work, we can tell with tolerable certainty in what way we can work the best; but when we undertake rather to plan than to execute; to transcend our sphere, and say rather what ought to be done than how we are to do it; to establish relations that have, perhaps, no existence in nature, and square and shape the world to theoretical conceptions of what ought to be; we usurp a province which has not

been assigned to us, and infinitely multiply the chances of our being rather wrong than right. But this question of the influence of the slave-trade upon the present vested interests of the country is right practical, and, while more easy of solution, will determine, we think, correctly what is the proper course to be pursued.

"*The slave-trade would, in all probability, diminish the value of slaves—that is, in fact, the object of it—but it will not necessarily diminish the value of slave labour.* The man who owns a hundred slaves would raise as much rice or cotton, or sugar or hemp, or cereal products, as he now raises. The value might be reduced, but we doubt even this. If the accessions of slave labour should be rapid, there would, perhaps, be a temporary reduction; but for all these products the wants of the world will increase in proportion to the supply. With any amount of labour they will necessarily be limited by the area suited to their production; and until that area be covered, and forever afterward, the foreign demand will, in all reasonable probability, keep us profitably employed.

"But if slaves are brought to us in abundance, there would occur the possibility of employing them in other collateral pursuits. They cannot now be employed in farming, mechanical, and manufacturing operations, because their labour upon plantations would purchase such products of foreign labour cheaper than they can produce them. Slave labour is, in fact, now dearer than the free labour of older countries, and if turned into hats, boots, cloth, coats, carriages, and household utensils, farming implements, and even certain species of garden and farming products, it could not be sold in the markets of the world, or even in our own markets, as cheap as the free labour of other countries, and men now do not turn it into such products, for the reason, that if they did they would certainly fail; and failure, so far, has, in fact, marked every effort at such a competition. But if it were cheap, cheaper than free-labour could be rendered (and we have every reason to believe it would be so cheap), if the door to its coming were thrown open, then such competition would become possible and profitable. We have enterprise in abundance. Enough has been thrown away on efforts where there was no opportunity of success to have enriched another people. This enterprise would be called into action. The white men in the country who have no hope but of labour now, would become proprietors. Each individual intelligence would see the road to success in new lines of business, and, engrafting itself upon the slave, would work it out. It is probable that the slaves, when they came, would not all go into agriculture: it is more probable that they would immediately branch into other fields of effort, and that the country would immediately come to be developed into a rounded system of employments.

"If, therefore, slaves should be brought into the country in such abundance as to reduce their price, and all were turned to agriculture, the only effect would be, that the planter would increase his force more rapidly than he now does, and *for the money which he gives for one would be able to purchase two.* The accumulation of wealth in that employment would then be more possible

than it now is; and as there are few who hold slaves rather for their value than their income, there are few who would not, even in this aspect of the case, be benefited by the change. But it is probable that slaves, in coming, would be made to branch. There is a notion that he is unfitted for any thing else than agriculture; but it is a notion unsustained by the slightest possible foundation. Branching into other enterprises, these would give to the planters a local market for many of the products which he sends abroad. They would increase by that much the consumption of the world, and thus sustain the value of plantation products. They would give to the planter the products of collateral labour cheaper than it could come to him from abroad; and whether the slaves were still continued in agricultural pursuits, as they would be if those should continue the most profitable, or even turned out to a competition with free labour elsewhere, in manufacturing and mechanical enterprises, they would tend to bring the resources of the country into play. They would give value to forests, mines, water powers, and water privileges, to transportation and rights of way; and lands and vested rights all over the country, now valueless, would command their prices in market, and would be an interest-bearing fund in the hands of their proprietors.

"Admit, then, that the slave-trade would diminish the value of slaves, and that, itself, would be of the most essential service to the men who want to buy them; and to those who do not wish to purchase, the coming of every single slave will add a fraction to the value of every other interest he possesses. Land is one constituent of wealth, but, without labour, is as unproductive as one of the sexes without the other: give it labour, and values start at every inch upon its surface. It is valuable for what it will produce, and still more valuable for the wants of those who come upon it. There is buried now under every acre of land in South Carolina at least fifty dollars in gold; and the day that the savage African is landed on our shores to cultivate it, that gold will glitter upon its surface.

THE SLAVE-TRADE TO TURKEY.

WE extract from the *Times* of the 10th January ult., the following communication dated from Constantinople, Dec. 29th, on the subject of the suppression of the trade in Africans, between Turkey and the northern coasts of the opposite Continent. We believe it to be incorrect that Redschid Pasha has "forbidden the importation and sale of black slaves" of his own free will and irrespective of any pressure from without. The correspondence published in the *Slave-trade Papers* recently issued, shews that Her Majesty's Government has not ceased to remonstrate with the Turkish authorities on the continuance of the traffic in negroes; a traffic involving not only most acute sufferings and excessive mortality from the fatigue and prostration incidental to a protracted journey across the desert to the coast, but the infliction of atrocious personal cruelty quite peculiar to this branch of it, and which results in the death of seventy per cent. of those sub-

jected to it. Whatever changes have been introduced, we are of opinion may be ascribed as much to the persevering efforts of Her Majesty's Government, as to the spontaneous benevolence of Redschid Pasha.

"You will remember that about a year ago a firmán came out forbidding the sale of white slaves. The firmán was owing entirely to the strong representations made by the foreign ambassadors. Redschid Pasha has now resolved by his own will, and without any pressure from without, to forbid the importation and sale of black slaves likewise. Knowing the ideas which public opinion in Europe attaches to Slavery, he makes this concession to it, in spite of the difficulties which he must expect in carrying out a measure which, perhaps, more than the prohibition of the sale of fair Circassians, must lead to a complete change in the domestic habits of the country.

"Every one knows by this time that slavery in the East is entirely different from that in the West. It is more a kind of adoption: so any arguments which might be used against it in Europe would fall to the ground here, unless one hammers away at the abstract principle that no human being is entitled to own another. But the abolition of Slavery, whether white or black, must by degrees lead to a thorough change in the domestic habits of the people, and especially of the great—and this is the important side of the question of Slavery here.

"The change which has taken place in this respect is already considerable. Polygamy, that nightmare of Europeans, is gradually disappearing: with the exception of a few gentlemen of the last generation, this expensive luxury has been given up by the great majority. No doubt, the contact with Europeans had a great deal more to do with this than the actual prohibition of the sale of white slaves, for the change in this respect began long before the publication of the firmán; but the impediments thrown in the way of this traffic, although they cannot entirely prevent it, help on the movement. It will especially do a good deal to reduce the number of white slaves which are still kept in all the great harems, as companions of the mistress of the house. As long as there was no law prohibiting the sale of white slaves every one occupying a certain position had to submit to the custom, which required that the harems of great men should be adorned with these expensive articles of luxury. Now there is an excuse for every one who really wishes to reduce his enormous harem expenditure to give a good example. The prohibition of the sale of Circassian slaves will, besides this, work by degrees a change in the system of marriages among the great. It has been hitherto a very common thing for rich men to buy young children of seven or eight years of age, to educate them in their harems, and to give them away as wives to their sons. While this was done with the sons, the daughters were often given to men of an inferior condition, not rarely liberated slaves, who had attached themselves to the fortunes of the father, and tried to make their career by his influence. The gradual extinction of these customs will promote marriages between equals, and thus draw a stronger line of demarcation between the higher and lower classes.

"The prohibition of the importation and sale of black slaves which is now contemplated will act not less powerfully, although differently, on the domestic habits. Indeed, its influence will be much more extended, for it will not only affect the upper but likewise the lower classes. As the first thought of every woman in Europe who rises in the world is to have her 'maid,' so the ambition of every housewife in the East is to have a black slave. As custom forbids a woman in the East to shew her face to any man, except her father, brother, or husband, no free Mahomedan woman can be employed as a servant in a harem, where she would be exposed to the gaze of all the male members of the family. Christian women are likewise inadmissible, on account of their different habits and mutual prejudices. So the black slaves are the only resource: they form exclusively the servant class of the harems, and do all the work, while their mistresses rarely or never give any thought to household affairs, and are idling away their time in dreams, or pass it in intrigues.

"The prohibition of the sale of black slave girls must therefore lead to a complete revolution in the Turkish household system, and must break down the seclusion of the harem far more than any thing else. When once the stock of black slaves now existing shall be exhausted, and new supplies have more or less ceased, Turkish women must either do all the work themselves, or else admit free women into their harems. In the beginning these will all be Christian women, for it will be a long time before Mahomedan women will consent to live in any but their own harem; but necessity and good pay will, of course, at length overcome the ideas prevalent in this respect, and this will be the first step in a great social revolution.

"No doubt this will not be the affair of a year or two, and it will be much more difficult at first to prevent the sale of black than of white slaves; but Redschid Pasha deserves great credit for having conceived the most practical way of gradually overcoming social prejudices, which form the greatest obstacle to all other improvements."

IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

WE are gratified to be able to record that this oppressive law has at length been practically repealed. Our readers may recollect the discussions on this subject in the House of Commons; and the cases of hardship which, in consequence of the enforcement of the law, our own fellow-subjects have suffered. Nor will the friends of humanity soon forget the very energetic efforts of Her Majesty's late Consul at Charleston, F. Matthew, Esq., to bring the question of the legality of the law to an issue. The direct efforts of the British Government to procure its repeal proved ineffectual. Indeed, it was clearly intimated that the State of South Carolina would not be coerced to abrogate or to modify the enactment, but would, if left alone, probably do something of its own accord. Under these circumstances, the *laissez faire* policy seemed to be the only one to be pursued; and if we are

to judge by the discussion on the motion to amend the Coloured Seamen's Act, which took place in the South-Carolina Legislature, on the 17th of December ult., it has, in due time, been productive of beneficial results.

The bill in question was enacted in 1835, and had for its object the cutting off all intercourse between the negroes of South Carolina and those of the British West Indies and the non-slaveholding States of the Union. The enactment, however, not only failed wholly in its effect, but was actually the cause of increasing the very dangers which the law was intended to obviate. On the other hand, it operated most harshly on those coloured persons who chanced to be driven into Charleston by stress of weather, not sparing even the shipwrecked, and this irrespective of nationality, British West-India subjects being subject to its barbarous operation. For a considerable number of years the repeal of the enactment, or its modification, has been under discussion, but the progressive measure was always defeated by local influence, though public opinion was in favour of it. A fair summary of the case is presented in the speeches of the Hon. W. B. Wilson and the Hon. J. D. Pope, on the occasion above referred to. We therefore append them as furnished by the *New-York Evening Post* of the 19th December ult.

"Mr. B. H. WILSON seldom trespassed upon the time of the House, but he wished to make a few remarks in favour of the changes proposed by the Committee. The main features of the Act now in force are harsh and inhuman in their character. If (said he) a vessel be cast away upon your coast, having on board, as mariner, one of that class obnoxious to your law, he is immediately seized and imprisoned. He who, by the act of God, is obliged for life to put into your ports, though guiltless of crime, is manacled and marched off to your jail.

"Why is this sensitiveness? Does the institution of Slavery with us stand on a basis so much less firm than in other Southern States, that we so permit to remain on our statute-book a provision so shocking to humanity? Ours is the only Southern State which continues to have such a law. According to the mode of procedure, under the Act of 1835, an unfortunate arrested is cast into a prison, and there thrown into contact with the worst class of negroes, with every opportunity to infuse into their minds incendiary notions, thus doing the very thing we legislate to prevent.

"We are not here for the purpose of passing Acts of retaliation: this Act can be sustained only as a police regulation; and I am unwilling to acknowledge that we require more stringent enactments to preserve the loyalty of our slaves, than are considered necessary elsewhere in our country, where the same institution exists."

Mr. J. D. POPE said—"I trust that the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Wynaah (Mr. Middleton) will not prevail. As long as the question was an open one, and arrogant demands were made for the repeal of the law, I would not

have yielded an inch or modified a letter of the Act. But that question is now settled. As a youth in that gallery, I saw a distinguished gentleman from Charleston, (Mr. Memminger,) then, as now, a leading member of this House, upon the question of the expulsion of Mr. Hoar from the State, rise in his place, and ask for a single day, a single hour, to make up his mind upon the subject. 'No,' said the House, 'we must act now or never.'

"I well remember his argument, that should Mr. Hoar apply to our courts for a *habeas corpus*, they would be compelled to grant it: and by an action thus instituted we should have the legislative and the judicial branches of the Government in conflict. I remember, too, the answer: 'We will take the responsibility, and leave the consequences to the test of time and truth.' This I regard as the first triumph of the Act of 1835.

"The next triumph was when the general government declined to interfere in the matter, and turned the English ministry over to the state of South Carolina. All will remember the application of that Government to this legislature, through her Consul, Mr. Mathews, and the treatment it received at that time. This I regard as the third triumph of the Act of 1835. But its crowning triumph was when British statesmen abandoned the question in a debate in the House of Lords, and admitted the right of South Carolina to pass the law as a police regulation. So much for the principle at issue.

"Thus much being admitted, the question becomes one of *policy* only. And on this point the public sentiment of the State is against the Act, as evidenced by memorials to the legislature, presentments of grand juries, the press, and the recommendations of every Governor for the last eight or ten years. The present law is injurious to our slaves, *not only by attracting their attention to the coloured seamen, manacled and marched through the streets of Charleston*, thus opening to their mind the very matters we wish to protect them from by the law; but by confining these coloured seamen from Northern and West-Indian ports in the same jail, under the same rules, with slaves confined therein for crimes and misdemeanors, there is afforded every opportunity to corrupt them in the easiest possible manner. But, except at Charleston, the law itself is a *dead letter*. It is not executed at Beaufort, nor at Georgetown, nor at Bluffton, and never has been, since 1835, to this day. And more than this, it is scarcely possible to be executed. The sheriff of the district is the only one empowered to capture, and, he in the districts along our coast, resides so far from the ports, and inlets, and deep navigable rivers, where these cooks and seamen are likely to enter, that the result is just what I have already indicated, viz. that outside of Charleston the law is a nullity.

"Now as to the remedy. The Bill provides, in the first section, that coloured seamen, driven into ports by stress of weather, or being brought into them involuntarily, as in case of mutiny and some other cases, should not be confined in jail, but remain on board the vessel, or in such place as the authorities shall appoint. This, Sir, is just and humane, and, I trust, will receive the vote of this House.

"The second section of the Bill provides that

coloured cooks and seamen coming voluntarily into the ports of this State, shall not only remain on board their vessel, but the master shall give bond and security that such coloured cooks and seamen shall obey the laws of this State; and in case the law is violated in any particular, or the seaman or cook is found beyond his vessel, the bond of the master is forfeited, and all the rigour of the Act of 1835 is again brought into full force and effect. Sure, the coloured cook, steward, or seamen, who by the vicissitudes of a hard and adventurous life, has been cast upon our shores, black or tawny though he be, is nevertheless a man.

"I am no sentimentalist, but I ask in the spirit of candour, I ask in the spirit of frankness and fair dealing, whether it is right, just, Christian or humane, to capture and confine within the four walls of a prison these poor unfortunate people, when the only offence with which they can be charged is, that they are found within our waters contrary to the provisions of the present enactment? Let the voice, aye, Sir, and the vote of this House, answer me.

The debate lasted some days, but was finally closed by the adoption of the clause modifying the law. We believe there is now no enactment in any of the Southern States under which coloured seamen are likely to be subjected to imprisonment and ultimate sale for merely being found on board a vessel putting into a Southern port. South Carolina has been the last State to adopt modifications which other States introduced years ago. But better late than never. It is all so much gained to the cause of freedom.

JAMAICA.

THE METCALFE TRAINING INSTITUTION.

WE called attention, in a previous Number of this periodical, to the encouraging results which had been obtained at the Metcalfe Training Institution, at Richmond, Jamaica. We believe it to be one in every respect deserving of patronage, and are, therefore, induced to comply with the wish of an esteemed correspondent, to give the subjoined letter a prominent place in our paper, in the hope that it may meet the eye of many who are interested in the industrial education of the emancipated negro in Jamaica, and that some may be induced to promote the object of the appeal.

The Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society* will be happy to receive donations, and to reply to communications.

Richmond, Metcalfe, Dec. 1856.

"Wishing to call the attention of friends, and the public generally, to the *Richmond Industrial Institution*, to extend information and awaken an active interest in its behalf, we take the liberty of submitting the following statements.

"This institution is designed to furnish to children and youth of all classes the means of a practical English education adapted to the wants of common life. It aims to educate the masses—to secure to them the highest practicable intelligence. Hence it will combine labour with study:

first, to enable the poor to obtain knowledge by their labour; and secondly, to promote physical as well as mental industry, and, by appropriately training the labourer, to give skill and efficiency to labour. In a word, it seeks to contribute a share, in common with other agencies, to substitute for an ignorant, indolent, unthrifty, and abject population, sterling men and women fitted for life's positive duties.

"The original conception of the great object of the institution, together with a deep and growing conviction of its importance, has grown out of long experience and observation of the influence of our mission families on the native children connected with them. The prospects of such children for respectability and usefulness have appeared much more favourable than those of the mass of children in other circumstances. It has seemed to us very desirable, and we think we have proved it practicable, greatly to extend that influence. We believe it is evident to most persons that the want of desirable homes and healthful family influences is a great barrier to all efforts for education, and to the progress of civilization generally in this island. To meet this want to some extent is a leading effort of the institution. It has, therefore, some of the features of a boarding-school, having a family at its head, of which a large portion of the pupils will be members. Other families may be associated in the work, as success and progress demand.

"Special regard is had to orphans and orphanly children. Such will be freely received into the family and school, and will be considered and treated much as adopted or indentured children. A practical familiarity with all sorts of domestic labour will be required, and such a system of industry pursued as will secure, as far as practicable or desirable, payment of the expenses of each individual.

"The term of study is not limited, nor the branches taught definitely fixed; but each will be regulated by age, capacities, expected future occupation, &c.

"The Institution is not pledged against various modifications under changing circumstances; but it is pledged under all circumstances to the most sincere and earnest efforts to secure to all committed to its trust the best physical, mental, and moral training practicable, preparatory to the various active duties of life to which Providence may call them.

"The Institution has now existed nearly two years; and though it has made but a very humble beginning, it has been an increasingly encouraging and hopeful one. The want of means to provide suitable accommodations is now the chief obstacle in the way of its immediate and extensive usefulness. To remove this, the effort is now being made to raise, by the 1st July 1856, the sum of 100*l.*, to enable the proprietor of the estate, who is also the superintendent of the Institution, to transfer to a board of trust, for a permanent Institution farm, 100 acres of land with buildings; also to raise other funds for building purposes. Twenty-three pupils are now in regular attendance; twenty-one members of the family, all and more than can be well provided for with our present means. Numerous applications for a place we have been compelled temporarily to refuse.

"We wish it distinctly understood that the

Institution is in actual, successful working condition, and we shall continue to work according to our ability; but to enlarge our operations, to give form, character, effectiveness, and permanency to an important Institution, we now humbly appeal to our friends and the public, for an interest in their prayers, and a share in their contributions.

SETH T. WOLCOTT,

Superintendent.

LOREN THOMPSON,

Chairman of the *American Mission*.

The papers generally are barren of intelligence. We observe that several meetings have been held by Mr. Stephen Bourne, some years since a stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica, on the subject of the development of the resources of the island. Mr. Bourne announces himself as the Secretary of the *British West-Indian Fibre Company*, the special object of which is to promote the production of indigenous fibre. The meetings appear to have been well attended, and the subject evidently commanded respectful attention. We cordially wish Mr. Bourne success.

SLAVE INSURRECTION IN THE SOUTH.

THE rumour of the breaking out of a formidable insurrection of the Slaves in the Southern States will not be new to the generality of our readers. We have taken some pains to ascertain the extent and nature of the movement, and have every reason to believe they have been greatly exaggerated. In support of this statement, we cannot do better than quote the authority of the *New-York Tribune*, which, in its number of the 16th December, gives the following version of the transaction, on credible authority:

THE NEGRO RISINGS.

"One of the 'collaborateurs' of the *Courier des Etats Unis*, who happened to be ascending the Cumberland River at the moment of the late alarm there about a negro plot, gives some curious details in his letter to that journal as to what he saw and heard in the course of his travels. The real facts respecting the insurrection would seem to be something like these. In the counties of Montgomery and Stewart, situate on the northern line of Tennessee, and bisected by the Cumberland River, are a number of iron-works, in which large numbers of slaves are employed, so that, in some districts of the neighbourhood, the slaves considerably outnumber the free population; yet the two counties taken together have, or had by the last census, upwards of 19,000 white people, while the slaves amount to less than 12,000.

"It would seem that the declamations so much indulged in at the South against Fremont as the Abolition candidate, and the violent measures taken, under that pretence, to prevent the formation of Fremont electoral tickets, had not escaped the notice of the slaves, ever watchful and inquisitive as to any thing affecting themselves. With the usual activity among the ignorant of the mythical imagination, upon this basis, that Fremont was the Abolition candidate, an extensive superstructure was speedily erected.

The credulity of these poor people was such, that they had taken up the idea that Colonel Fremont, with a numerous force to back him, was waiting at the bottom of Cumberland River for Christmas night to come, when he and his army were to emerge from the river to aid in the deliverance of the slaves. The fact that he was there was proved by the sudden rise in the river, which was insisted upon as being caused by the great number of men and boats collected at the bottom. As it was thought that waiting so long at the bottom of the river must needs dampen Col. Fremont's powder, it was considered necessary by the blacks to buy up a store of it, from which to supply him. So thoroughly were the slaves convinced of the truth of this fable, that, says the *Courier's* correspondent, 'I have heard them say with a smile, as they were flogged, that Fremont and his men at the bottom of the river heard every blow that was struck at them.'

"Such would seem to be pretty much the whole of this terrible plot. These slaves in the iron-works endeavoured to beguile their hard lot by the idea that Fremont would rise on Christmas night from the bottom of the Cumberland River, and set them all free. It does not appear that they expected or proposed to do any thing of themselves, at least nothing except under the direction and as the auxiliaries of their looked-for deliverer. Their only overt act appears to have been the providing a quantity of powder, not for their own use, but to replace that which the long stay of Fremont and his army at the bottom of the river might have damaged.

"No sooner does this negro myth come to the knowledge of their masters than it sets their imagination too all agog, and they speedily shew themselves, in point of credulity, not one whit behind the negroes. Indeed, as fear is still more inventive than hope, they quite outdo the negroes in point of invention. To this, for aught that appears, harmless dream of the negroes, they add all the commonplaces of a negro insurrection, the incidents of which are as well fixed and established in the Southern imagination, as, among us, those of any common-run play or novel. The white men on each plantation are to be murdered, and the white women ravaged, and the brains of the children beat out; which measure accomplished, the negroes are to collect at the chief town of the county with a view to ulterior measures. Nor is this by any means a thing confined to the neighbourhood of the Tennessee iron-works. Not at all. That would not be half frightful enough. There is no use doing things by halves — least of all when you have unlimited credulity to draw upon. What is easier than to whip a negro into confessing whatever you desire? The plot, as certain negroes after being duly whipped confess, embraces the whole of Tennessee and Kentucky; nay more, it extends down the Mississippi, and the slaves of Louisiana are parties to it.

"The correspondent of the *Courier*, on his arrival at Dover, the shire town of Stewart County, found all the people there in the very paroxysm of terror. All the white population was armed from head to foot, even small boys staggering under the weight of guns and accoutrements too heavy for their strength. Men on horseback, their horses all foam, came riding in from all directions. All the women and children were collected in two or three fortified houses,

and the number was constantly increased by others brought in from the neighbourhood. Nine black prisoners were guarded in a house by themselves, of whom four or five were shortly to be hanged.

"At Cumberland iron-works, where the boat next touched, the same state of terror prevailed. Sixty slaves, shut up in a great building, were being whipped for their share in the conspiracy; while other slaves, as had been the case at Dover, perform their ordinary services with submission and alacrity. In spite of numerous reports circulated to the contrary, not a single act of resistance to authority, so far as the correspondent of the *Courier* could ascertain, had anywhere occurred on the part of the slaves, except that a number of them, alarmed at the fury of the whites, had taken to the woods, and attempted to escape or to conceal themselves.

"Such appears to be about the whole of this alarming plot — except, indeed, the usual accompaniment of the murder of a number of slaves, and the whipping and banishing of three or four white men. This plot, indeed, seems very much of a sort with that mythical invasion of Kansas by Lane and a chimerical army from Nebraska, which so lately stirred up all Western Missouri to riot and murder, which even plodding Marcy seems to have believed in, which figures in the President's Message, and which long kept Governor Geary in a state of high nervous agitation. Lane's army and this Tennessee negro plot might, indeed, serve to shew how, in the affairs of this world, fables become very serious realities."

As might be expected, the rumour, and the discoveries consequent upon it, caused the greatest excitement, notwithstanding the assurance of the *Memphis Union*, that it was "a tempest in a tea-pot." Slaveholders, however, have uneasy consciences, and, living in constant dread of servile insurrections, severity became the order of the day, as a means of intimidating the yet unrefractory slaves. It is melancholy to read of the arrests, imprisonments, hangings, whippings to death, and shootings of slaves, which have resulted from the apprehensions of these men with guilty consciences. As nearly as we can make out, about forty unfortunate negroes have been violently deprived of life, upon what appears to be the very slenderest evidence of their having even contemplated a rising. Some two or three whites have also been implicated, and executed summarily, on the charge of inciting the slaves to rebellion by giving them information on the subject of the Presidential election. The whole is attributed by the slave-owners to the Abolitionists of the North, though they could have had no knowledge of what was going on. The subjoined extracts will furnish a faint idea of the cruel proceedings adverted to.

"From the *Memphis Union*.

"Exaggerated reports of excitement in Tennessee regarding anticipated negro insurrection are circulating in other States. The *Augusta Chronicle* notices these reports, and says:

"We have sought, with no ordinary anxiety, the desired information in the Nashville papers; but up to our last dates (Saturday last) they are perfectly silent on the subject. Perhaps they are waiting, now that the whole thing has exploded and victimized a few of the poor deluded slaves, to obtain their facts from the most authentic sources, when we shall be presented with full and reliable reports of the whole matter."

"The excitement in question was limited to the iron-works on Cumberland River and their vicinity, and to Sumner County. It has now almost entirely subsided. In Sumner County the plot was limited to a conspiracy to kill two or three men, and has been thoroughly exposed. The Vigilance Committee turned the leaders over to the law, and they will be dealt with by the Courts. At the iron-works there is no doubt that the negroes had talked of an insurrection, and of fighting their way to a Free State. The plot was utterly absurd and impracticable, except so far as it threatened the lives of a few men at its first outbreak. It has been fully exposed, and the leaders summarily punished. This is a brief outline. The details are contradictory even here. The excitement and alarm has not been a tithe of what it has been represented to be elsewhere; and slaveholders have felt far more apprehension for their slaves than for themselves. This may appear strange to some of our Northern brethren, but it is certainly so."

"From the *Newport (Ky) News*."

"We learn from the *Russellville Herald* of Wednesday last (by telegraph) that great excitement exists in the neighbourhood of Volney and Gordonsville. A negro, belonging to one of the iron-works at Tennessee, who knew something about their plan for liberty, died by the torture of the lash rather than tell of his brethren who had conversed with him on the subject of their freedom. He received 750 lashes at the hands of white savages (too lazy to do their own work) before he expired. How the people of America can stand by and see such atrocity committed in this professed land of liberty, and that, too, against a people whose only crime is that of seeking liberty, is more than we can understand. Even Kentucky—how can the liberty-loving people of this State stand it? Will the real producers and working-men of Kentucky suffer these man-tortures to go on unrebuked until they themselves fall a prey to these barbarians, and suffer subjugation by the lash, and be bought and sold like the negro whom they now shoot, hang, or whip to death, for the crime of being known to possess an independent spirit? If the white working-men suffer the black working-men to be thus treated, they must soon expect to share the same fate. The principle is the same. The white tyrant that sanctions a law to enslave black men for the sake of gain, would sanction a law to enslave the whites also for the same end, and then cut and slash, shoot, hang, or whip to death, all who dared to talk about freedom or self-government. The working-classes of the Southern States are too thoughtless of their own doom. Man has enslaved his fellow-man the world over, and in all ages, without regard to colour, when he got the power by law to do so,

and will do it here on this part of the globe, and in the present age, if he gets the power."

"At Cadiz, Trigg County, Ky, yesterday," says the *Herald* of Wednesday last, "a free negro was hung, after being tried by the Vigilance Committee," and that "a number more are in jail, some of whom will be hung."

"A white man was hung not long before this for denouncing this inhumanity to man; and another whipped because his heart was moved with sympathy to witness the horrid abuse of the negro, guilty of no crime but that of a love of liberty."

"This, fellow-freemen, is a most horrid state of things to exist in a free country. The black man is robbed of his labour by law, and the white man of his by dread; and not a press of the whole South dare proclaim the fact, (save the *Newport News*) lest some tyrant would say, 'Stop my paper.' Both black and white, that labour for a living, are viewed as animals of like calibre and low grovelling nature, by the wealthy man-owner, except that the cringing white man, who reduces his own wages and that of his neighbour by fondling around the slave-master, is least respected. And such as these are used to set on chase after runaway negroes, to bring them back to work for nothing, that white men may also be compelled to beg for a job, and then, like the negro, get only enough to feed and clothe them for it. Oh, sweet institution of Slavery! Oh, sweet barbarity! Sweet brutality and murder! Sweet wealth and poverty! Sweet learning and sweet ignorance! Oh, sweet trifling humanity!"

"You that dare speak out in Kentucky, let us hear your voice! Speak over your own signature like freemen, or ask for yourselves a rope for the gallows! The time has come when we should know a skulking Tory from a patriot of liberty; and to know whether we must live by acting the tyrant, or die for imitating a Washington."

THE OUTRAGES IN KANSAS.

* Resumed from p. 280, of Vol. IV.

"When the men whom *Atchison* had courted had betrayed the North, freedom, and humanity—had broken down the Missouri Compromise, and, in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, invited the North to send settlers into Kansas—no sooner did the freemen of the North declare that they would accept the invitation, (an invitation treacherous as Judas' kiss,) than the *very men* who made the proposal, who begged the North to accept it, who fixed all the rules of the contest, gnashed their teeth in anger and rage that any freeman should DARE TO TALK of coming to Kansas under the Kansas Bill."

"They feared the issue, they felt the base villainy and wickedness of their cause, and it made them faint-hearted. They instantly determined, as far as they could, to drive out from all the country adjacent to Kansas all who should be suspected of loving freedom. Thus there would be none to sympathize with those freemen who might come, to shew them the land, to give them counsel or advice. It would also remove all that element which would prove conservative in holding back the community from rash and wicked acts of violence. Every thing was done to create throughout the country the feeling that it would be un-

pleasant, dangerous, and even fatal to Northern men to go to that country.

"The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed, and became a law late in May 1854. Within twenty-four hours after the news reached Missouri there were thousands of men in Kansas Territory who crossed over to pick out farms: for weeks the roads in Kansas were thronged, and the ferries loaded down with Missourians. On the other hand, it was late in the year when the first little handful of about thirty Eastern men arrived in the Territory, having come out at reduced fare by coming on tickets purchased from the Emigrant-Aid Society. I think they arrived in October. How fair and chivalrous the course the South had pursued previous to that time!"

"June 10, 1854.—At Salt Creek, three miles from Fort Leavenworth, 300 Missourians held a squatter meeting, to regulate claims of land, and to protect each other's property against encroachments. They

"Resolved, 8. That we will afford protection to no Abolitionists as settlers of Kansas Territory.

"Resolved, 9.—That we recognise the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and recommend to slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible.

"So ho! What have we here? June 10, 1854, about two weeks after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, an association with a salaried Register and a Vigilance Committee of thirteen, 'who shall have power to call together the entire Squatter Association, to help pro-slavery men secure and keep claims, and to urge Missourians to bring Slavery over there. Surely an 'Aid Society' which will protect slaveholders and their property in Kansas, is a better Aid Society than one which only reduces travelling expenses some 8 dols. to 15 dols. below the ordinary rates, on a journey of 2000 miles.

"In Weston, where I lived, two papers were published—*The Reporter* (Whig), *The Argus* (Democrat). The latter was, and is, the organ of Atchison and Stringfellow. I quote from Atchison's organ, immediately after the Bill had passed. Calling on the Missourians to go over and settle, it says: 'The Abolitionists will probably not be interrupted if they settle North of the FORTIETH PARALLEL of NORTH latitude, but SOUTH of that line, and within KANSAS TERRITORY, they need not SET FOOT. It is DECREED by the people who live adjacent that THEIR institutions are to be established there.' Noble, equitable fulfilment of your own Kansas-Nebraska Bill! a Bill for whose paternity Atchison and Douglas have quarrelled; Atchison averring that he was the papa of the Bill, and Douglas but his attending lackey.

"But from the same organ, two weeks later:

"It is time now to sound the alarm. We know we speak the sentiments of some of the most distinguished statesmen of Missouri, when we advise, that counter organizations be immediately made, both in Kansas and Missouri, to thwart the reckless course of the Abolitionists. They must be met, if need be, with the RIFLE. We must meet them at the very threshold and scourge them back to their caverns of darkness. They have made the issue, and it is for us to meet and repel them, even AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET."

"From this quotation two things are evident; first, that it was not the 'Kansas Aid Societies' which were so awfully wicked, but that the entire North would not lie still, and, by her recreancy to principle, permit Missouri to seize upon Kansas, without the trouble of crossing the river to vitiate elections, to disfranchise American citizens and outrage the persons of freemen.

"Second, That in this Kansas question, the idea of rifles and bayonets, and also the using of them, was not original with the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

"Another quotation from Atchison's organ, later date, accusing the Eastern immigrants of intending to get into the Territory under the guise of Mormons. It says:

"Stake out your claims! and woe be to the Abolitionist or Mormon who shall intrude upon it, or come in reach of your long and true rifles, or within point blank shot of your revolvers."

"Freemen, from this, must not come to Kansas, and if they do, they must not come within rifle-range of a pro-slavery man's farm, under liability of being murdered. Remember, no EASTERN immigrants were yet within a THOUSAND miles of Kansas!

"But the Press is the tyrant's foe. It must be chained. Mr. Mendenhall, lately driven from the Quaker Mission, had lived there many years. He loved Freedom. He wrote a letter to *The National Era*, revealing the spirit and purposes of the South. Atchison's organ calls on the Kansas people to catch him. 'Where is Mendenhall? Where is the Abolition correspondent of *The Era*? Let him be brought to light, and compelled to leave the country, with a coat of hot tar and feathers to his back.' Tyrants fear knowledge, and men must not write to their friends what is distasteful to tyrants. So, muzzle the Press!

"From Atchison's and Stringfellow's organ, again:

"200 DOLLARS REWARD!—We are authorized by responsible men in this neighbourhood to offer the above reward for the apprehension and safe delivery into the hands of the squatters of Kansas Territory, of one Eli Thayer, a leading and ruling spirit among the Abolitionists of New York and New England. . . . Now, therefore, it behoves all GOOD citizens of Kansas Territory, and the State of MISSOURI (kind State, that!) to watch the advent of this agent of Abolitionism—to arrest him and deal with him in such a manner as the enormity of his crimes and iniquities shall seem to merit. Representing all the Abolitionists, he consequently bears all their sins; and the blood of Batchelder is upon his head, crying aloud for expiation at the hands of the people."

"This teaches that no man may come to Kansas to locate lands for 20,000 actual settlers without having a price set on his head, and without running the risk of being lynched. Also, that because an officious pro-slavery official (Batchelder) was killed in a mob while arresting a man as a slave whom the mob supposed to be free, it becomes the duty of every good citizen of Kansas and Missouri to watch for, to seize, and to murder an intelligent and noble man, because he loves freedom and humanity.

"But all this is not sufficient. Not only with-

draw all protection from freemen—not only drive back with ‘rifles,’ ‘bayonets,’ and ‘revolvers,’ freemen coming into Kansas—not only attempt to tar and feather men who for years had lived in Kansas, because they write honest and true letters to their friends—not only prepare to kill men high in wealth, intelligence, and moral character, for even travelling in Kansas, but do more—*debauch* and violate the last defence of the rights of American citizens, *the ballot-box!*

“Within one month after the passage of the Bill, *Atchison’s organ* discourses thus about the men expected from the North:

“If any of the 20,000 Abolitionists, spoken of by Holly, should be so unlucky as to set foot in that Territory *previous to the adoption of its CONSTITUTION, NO BALLOT-BOX AT ANY PRECINCT WITHIN ITS BORDERS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO BE POLLUTED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF A NIGGER VOTE.*”

“In *Atchison’s organ, The Platte Argus*, there appeared a call for a public meeting, signed ‘A Know-Nothing.’

“On the 20th of July 1854 the meeting took place. ‘The Platte County Self-defensive Association’ was formed, with its Magnus Apollo, Benjamin Franklin Stringfellow, as Secretary. A preamble and nine articles of agreement were unanimously adopted.

“It was an immense and powerful Lynch Court to purify Missouri; and an engine intended for the subjugation of freedom in Kansas. It was made the ‘special duty’ of each member to investigate the conduct, and diligently search for evidence against any man suspected of loving freedom.

“All free negroes must be expelled from the county.

“No traffic between whites and slaves was to be permitted.

“No slaves were to be permitted to hire their own time.

“The Association was to try and punish all Abolitionists.

“6. That we hereby mutually pledge ourselves, our honour, and purses, to bring to immediate punishment any person guilty.

“7. That we appoint six Presidents; and whenever any person is found guilty, his case shall be referred to one of the said Presidents, and any other two of the subscribers hereto, whose concurrent judgment shall be final; and we pledge our persons to the same, and our purses to indemnify.”

“Nearly one thousand men set their signatures or marks thereto, and became members. Such are the tender mercies of Slavery! An organized mob, with six Presidents, and a thousand members, setting themselves above the Civil Courts; making themselves a tribunal, in which any one of its Presidents, together with any two members, should be a triumvirate (notice, ye lawyers!) from whose decisions no poor victim of their hatred or conspiracies could appeal—a triumvirate whose decisions had two thousand hands ready, if necessary, to be steeped in human blood! Wonder not. Slaves are not permitted to appeal, why should freemen be?

“The first week of the existence of this Association they seized a resident of Weston, late an ex-Sheriff in Iowa, Mr. Thomas A Minard. He

was building a house in Kansas. He had one day over in the Territory said he should vote to have Kansas a Free State: he was arrested—was tried—was condemned as an Abolitionist—was ordered to leave the country in twenty-four hours, or receive fifty lashes on the bare back!

“He was a man worth thousands of dollars; no ‘Kansas Aid Society’ sold tickets to him; he helped to elect the present Administration, and was once an admirer of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. With a wife and two children, all sick—one expected to die—he went into Kansas, (his own house being just begun,) with no shelter for them.

“An old citizen of Weston, named Osborn, was tried; was, without proof, except a negro’s testimony, (unlawful testimony,) condemned as an Abolitionist; the hair was shaved off the right half of his head, and he was ordered to leave the country in forty-eight hours, or receive one hundred lashes on the bare back! He left.

“My own turn came next. I consented to be tried before the Association if they would give me the whole Association as my judges. (This trial was published last year.) By a unanimous vote, about four hundred rising to their feet, it was declared that I was a quiet, inoffensive, and good citizen, and not obnoxious to the charge of Abolitionism. General Benjamin Franklin Stringfellow, (what a union of names!) had promised his friends that that same 29th day of July 1854 should be a great gala day for them, and that I should be flogged upon the bare back, that day, in Market Street. When he had been completely conquered in his own Court, his own friends voting me innocent, he was intensely angered. My defence occupied just two hours. I was interrupted but twice by two distinguished men, who attempted to browbeat me—the one, General Stringfellow, the other, the Rev. Wm. N. Irish, an Episcopal clergyman, late from New-York, whom a three months’ residence in Missouri had sufficed to enamour with Slavery. When I closed, the verdict stood with me, and there was not a word more on that point to be said.

“Within thirty seconds after I sat down, Dr. George Washington Bayliss, (what another name!) one of the Presidents, offered the following resolutions:

“1. That this Association will, whenever called upon by any citizen of Kansas, hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant-Aid Societies.

“2. That we recommend to the citizens of other counties, and particularly those bordering on Kansas Territory, to adopt regulations similar to those of this Association, and to indicate their readiness to co-operate in the objects of the first resolution.

“Dr. Bayliss is small of stature, and a poor speaker, but a splendid surgeon (a few years since Professor of Anatomy in Louisville and Cincinnati Colleges). Speaking to his resolutions, the Doctor says: ‘I am small, I cannot fight much, but I pledge you that I will go with you, and you shall have all my skill as a surgeon for your wounded and dying; but let us hear from our distinguished Secretary, General Stringfellow.’ The General arose. ‘He thought that the

Northern men must be met *with arms*; he was not in favour of *mild measures*. He did not want the South to think that talking was enough. (I had counselled them to moderation.) 'Do as Mr. Starr advises you, and be moderate and conciliatory, and his friends from the North will come in, and make it a Free State, and then it will be too late! Go there and vote for Kansas to be a Free State, as Mr. Starr says he will do, and I would not give a smooth picayune apiece for your niggers.' Thus he went on, at each point becoming more angry, until after seven personal attacks, he forsook me, and seized upon the whole North.

"But I will quote a few delightful things he said, as they were proved and printed by another:

"Speaking of the North, without explanation, you remarked, '*All who labour for their daily bread, or who are dependent on their labour for subsistence, are slaves!*'" "*All females who labour for their daily bread are whores!* and have been so from the days of Abraham." You further remarked in this immediate connection, that "should Kansas come in as a Free State, you would leave this State; you would not allow your daughters to associate with them; you would go where your colour was respected, and where you could bring up your sons honourable gentlemen, and your daughters virtuous women."

"We, the undersigned, citizens of Platte County, Mo., certify that the above statements are substantially those made by B. F. Stringfellow, in his speech before the 'Platte County Self-Defensive Association,' July 20, 1854, as we are ready to verify.

A. C. Bell, G. Lackauby, H. Gains.
J. W. Dye, H. Humphrey, J. W. Mackabee
F. Starr, jr., D. H. Stephens, James Woods,
A. B. Hathay, Henry Kitchen, I. D. Washburn
J. B. Wright, C. R. Moffett, James Gibson,
A. Milligen, R. Meek, sen.

"I have proved what I promised to prove—as it is all narrowed down to one point: did he or did he not say the words? I have proved by his own admission, and an abundance of incontrovertible evidence, that he did! And he now stands before the world as a condemned culprit, a base liar, a lowflung puppy, and a miserable coward and scoundrel, beneath the notice of any decent person. "H. MILES MOORE.

"Weston, Aug. 12, 1854."

"A printed controversy arose, from Mr. Stringfellow's beautiful and honourable speech, between some of the citizens and himself. In one of his articles he says: 'If there be any desire on the part of the public to know what was said by me, I will state that the Rev. Mr. Starr, in defining his position on negro Slavery, had said that he regarded it "as a political and moral evil": my remarks were intended to *refute this assertion*.' As his speech was a rejoinder to my own, I can never forget it: he made his speech to me, at me, and for me. For ten minutes in succession came a violent torrent of falsehood and abuse of Northern men and women of honesty, and truth, and morals, which ought to stir the blood of freemen as much as those extracts which Moore quoted from him. Among other things he uttered these: 'That there was not a man in the whole North whose word could be trusted by the South.' 'That the only way

to treat men from the North was to take it for granted that they were all *rascals* and *villains*, until they should prove by long acquaintance that they are *honest* and *respectable*.' After he had spent twenty minutes in attempting to take off my cuticle and that of the whole North, he turns again to Bayliss's resolution for invading Kansas: 'He was, like Bayliss, for going over there when the first emigrants should come—not waiting till the Territory had been overrun by these Northern serfs.' [Dr. Bayliss had called Northern settlers by the refined name of 'gutter scrapings.'] As Dr. Bayliss had offered his *medical* services, so he would give them *counsel* and *law*—he would go with them as a leader, if none better appeared, or even as a private, under one more skilled in stratagem and war. He would go with them, and felt justified at the point of the bayonet and to the death to drive them out.

"Peter T. Abel, Stringfellow's partner, had a very fine intelligent slave run away to Canada on the 4th of July last, and he spoke *FEELINGLY* to the resolutions. 'I AM READY TO GO the first hour it shall be announced that the emigrants have come, and with my OWN HANDS will help to HANG EVERY ONE of them on the first tree.'

"The resolutions were put, and carried by acclamation. To comment one moment on this scene: A minister who for four years has preached the Gospel faithfully and modestly, is, in his own city, arraigned before a Lynch Court, to be tried as an Abolitionist. He is unanimously acquitted. In his defence he states his belief that '*Slavery is a political and moral evil*,' and, lo! the actual President of the United States (not that nominal gentleman at Washington, but the actual President) discourses, in the language above quoted, on the morality, the labour, and the honesty of three-fourths of all the white persons in the nation! Are we not a nation of slaves? Is not the North a people of slaves? Not that they do not labour with honest hands for honest bread, but that they are so craven-hearted, so lost to manhood and true freedom, that *such language*, and *such feelings expressed to them* by their Southern drivers and masters, awake scarcely one indignant murmur, or produce a frown.

"And was it not the most unheard-of atrocity for a joint-stock company in Massachusetts to organize, under the regular legal provisions for chartered corporations, as common passenger-carriers? Why, certainly it was! That was in *Massachusetts!* And they sold tickets to passengers for *Kansas!* Was ever so heinous a crime before perpetrated? And is there another crime which in blackness can approach it? That men should patronize such a wicked company; that they should buy tickets from this company to ride in cars and steamboats! O infamous men! *You love Freedom instead of Slavery! O horrible!* You are coming to *Kansas* to settle under President Pierce's Kansas-Nebraska Bill!

"And in these days, when great men set themselves up as moral teachers, we are told that one very wicked thing is 'just cause' for the commission of some trifling *pecadillo* on the other side. Thus, an ex-Vice-President tells us that the unheard-of wickedness of electing a President of the United States, in the exact manner prescribed by the Constitution, *because* he is national in his sentiments instead of sectional—because

he loves Freedom more than Slavery, 'is just cause' for *destroying the whole Government*, and tearing this land of Freedom, 'THIS HOME of the oppressed,' into fragments.

"In like manner does the *locum tenens* of the Presidency view matters in Kansas, and in like manner does he talk. The *gross criminality* of entering into chartered companies, to *carry passengers, to lay out cities, to build churches, to found schools, to establish manufactures in KANSAS*, under the invitation of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was '*just cause*' why a *thousand men* in Platte County, Missouri, over their own signatures, bound, in their *persons, their honour, and their purses*, as an 'Association, hold themselves ready to go into Kansas Territory, and assist in removing any and ALL emigrants' brought out by this other company. And should further 'call on other counties to enrol like ARMIES, awaiting only the call of any citizen of Kansas,' to commence their work of violence and murder.

"But some simpleton may ask: Was not this Association in treason against the United States?—an attempt and organization to defeat or oppose—not the enactments of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature—but the laws of the United States, which had Franklin Pierce's signature? The Douglas Kansas-Nebraska Bill? Why, foolish man, know you so little of United States morality? That could not be wrong! Why, it was in Missouri! The South and Slavery did that! Why, the actual President and Vice-President of the United States were the very bottom and foundation of this Association, and it was made on purpose to accomplish just what the South and the present Administration wished. This could not be wrong! The wickedness and criminality all lies (so Franklin Pierce teaches the nation) with those wicked men who would not stay in pent-up, barren New England, and let Southerners settle broad fertile Kansas all by themselves.

"I tell you, fellow-citizens, that if the uprising of good morals in Western Missouri had not prostrated for months that Monster Platte County Association, the welcome of the first eastern emigrants in Oct. 1854 would have been bloodshed and death. That same Society, under its own name, and under another name, has been for the last year doing its intended and cherished work in Kansas.

"But this Society not only tried 'Abolitionists,' and drove men from Missouri, because of their opinions; not only did it organize with the avowed object of invading Kansas and destroying freemen; it further attempted to control the business of the country, and hasten the dissolution of the Union.

"Read some more of their resolutions. Aug. 9, 1854:

"Resolved, 1. This is no time for neutrals, but it is our right to know who are for us and who are against us, and that we know of no better rule [always the rule with brigands and pirates] than to hold all who are not for us to be against us.

"2. That they who hate slaveholders have no right to slaveholders' money; and hence we declare our purpose to be to trade with our friends—our enemies we will let alone, so long as they let us alone. [Only they must not come into Kansas!!]

"3. That we recommend to our merchants to make their purchases in the cities of the slaveholding States. That St. Louis, Louisville, Kentucky, and Baltimore, Maryland, furnish ample markets where our merchants can get their dry goods, and New Orleans their groceries.

"4. That we will take pains to inform ourselves as to the OPINIONS and CONDUCT of merchants and others with whom we propose to trade in St. Louis and elsewhere on the Slavery question, so as to fully carry out the foregoing resolutions."

"They sent a Committee to each of our merchants to require them to sign an agreement not to purchase, except in accordance with these resolutions. It was too much; the tyranny was coming too close; the whole community was in ferment; Stringfellow's notable speech was doing its work; and a sudden spontaneous uprising of an outraged community came suddenly on. Public handbills called the citizens together on the 1st of September 1854.

"Slaveholders and pro-slavery men, who loved honour and freedom, and who could not be trampled down by despotic leaders, originated, conducted, and concluded that memorable meeting. They passed the following preamble and resolutions, and one hundred and seventy-four citizens of Weston signed them.

"Whereas, our rights and privileges as citizens of Weston, Platte County, Missouri, have been disregarded, infringed upon, and grievously violated, within the last few weeks, by certain members of the Platte County Self-Defensive Association; and whereas, the domestic quiet of our families, the sacred honour of our sons and daughters, the safety of our property, the security of our livings and persons, the good name our fathers left us, the good name of us all, and the city of our adoption, are each and all *disrespected, and vilely aspersed*, and contemptuously threatened with mob violence wherefore it is imperatively demanded that we in Mass Meeting assembled, on this the first day of September 1854, do make prompt, honourable, effective, and immediate defence of our rights and privileges as citizens of this glorious Union; Therefore,

"Resolved, 1. That we, whose names are hereunto affixed, are order-loving and law-abiding citizens.

"2. That we are Union men: we love the South much, but we love the Union better. Our motto is, the 'Union first, the Union second, and the Union forever.'

"3. That we disapprove the Bayliss resolution, as containing nullification, disunion, and disorganizing sentiments.

"4. That we, as consumers, invite and solicit our merchants to purchase their goods wherever it is most advantageous to the buyer and consumer.

"5. That we hold every man as entitled to equal respect and confidence, until his conduct proves him unworthy of the same.

"6. That we understand the 'Douglas Bill' as giving all the citizens of this Confederacy equal rights and equal immunities in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

"7. That we believe in the dignity of labour: it does not necessarily detract from the moral or intellectual character of man.

"8. That we are competent to judge who shall

be expelled from our community, and who shall make laws for our corporation.

"9. That mere suspicion is not a ground of guilt: mob law can only be tolerated when all other law falls, and then only on *proof of guilt*.

"10. And lastly, that certain members [the leaders] of the Platte County Self-Defensive Association have proclaimed and advocated, and attempted to force measures upon us contrary to the foregoing principles, which measures we do solemnly disavow, and disapprove, and utterly disclaim as being diametrically opposed to common and constitutional law, and as having greatly disturbed and well nigh destroyed the order, the peace, and the harmony of our families and community, and as being but too well calculated seriously to injure us in our property and character, at home and abroad. We will thus ever disavow and disclaim."

Reviews.

Teachings of the New Testament on Slavery.

By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. Ladd, 22 Beckman Street, New York.

This is an extremely well-written tract, conclusive against the infidel doctrine that Slavery is sanctioned by the Old or the New Testament. The illustrations are all pertinent, and the difference between the condition of slaves under the Mosaic dispensation, under the Roman law, and under that of the Southern States, is clearly defined.

The Duty of a Rising Christian State to contribute to the World's well-being and civilization, and the means by which it may perform the same.

The above is the title of the Annual Oration delivered by the Rev. Alex. Crummell, B.A. (Cantab.) before the Common Council and the citizens of Monrovia, Liberia, on the 26th of July 1855, being the Anniversary of the independence of Liberia. It is a remarkable composition, very superior to the class of periodical addresses with which we are too frequently favoured at home, and bears evidence of being the production of a scholar, whilst it is characterized, also, by a high Christian tone pervading it. It is the more worthy of notice as the work of a pure African, who received a classical education in one of our chief Universities, and who is devoting his eminent abilities to the improvement of his race.

The European.—This is a new American newspaper, published at New York, and of which the first eight numbers have been forwarded to us. We cannot perhaps do better than quote its published programme of principles. We have only to add, that it is edited with great ability.

The European will contain all the information that can be gathered in Europe and America of especial interest to Europeans in the United

States, and to the inhabitants of the British North-American Provinces.

"It will shew the actual condition—moral, physical, and mental—of all classes of the people of the various States of this Confederation, whether natives or emigrants, freemen or slaves; and it will contain the information necessary for Europeans who contemplate emigration, to determine whether they should select the United States, or some other country for their future residence.

"It will be opposed to the Anti-Republican, *alias* the Sham-Democracy or Pro-Slavery party—the enemies of freedom and social progress all over the world.

"It will oppose the propagandists of Slavery, and will advocate the propagandism of liberty on this continent, as well as in Europe.

"It will set forth the various reasons why Republican institutions in the United States have hitherto failed to secure the well-being of the working-classes, and will advocate the legislative measures necessary to ameliorate their condition.

"It will institute fair and honest comparisons between the United States and other countries, shewing the progress made by each from time to time, and the justice of their several pretensions.

"It will maintain the cause of the friends of liberty in Europe and elsewhere—a cause which should be supported by all parties in every country enjoying constitutional government, since the only real danger to those countries is from a combination of the military despots of Europe, aided by the Pro-Slavery government of the United States.

"It will sustain the cause of Republicanism against those who would sacrifice it to preserve the domination over the freemen of the North by the slave-owning aristocracy of the South.

"It will contain all such facts as may assist the people of other countries in determining what are the true merits or demerits of American institutions."

THE SUFFERERS IN KANSAS.

THE subjoined Appeal has been forwarded to us with a request for its insertion in the *Reporter*. We readily comply with this request, and think the case of the Kansas sufferers is one that calls for the active sympathy of the benevolent.

APPEAL.

It is scarcely necessary, in presenting the following Appeal on behalf of the sufferers in Kansas, to detail the present position of that part of the American continent, farther than to refer to the iniquitous compromises, violations of right and justice, which have rendered it a scene of violence, outrage, and misery.

In 1820, when Missouri was added, as a slave State, to the American Union, a compact was entered into with the Northern States, that there should be no more slave territory north and west of the Kansas river. But gradually, as the slaveholders felt the necessity of acquiring fresh soil, to which to transfer their surplus slave-labour, they en-

croached on the prohibited territory; and in 1854, after a short struggle, they openly triumphed over freedom and integrity, by obtaining a Bill of Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise, and to leave it to the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, when they shall have the requisite number of settlers (90,000) to constitute them States, to decide for themselves whether they shall be admitted into the Union as free or slave States.

To secure a preponderance of free settlers, whose votes in favour of Freedom should counterbalance those in favour of Slavery, now became the point of importance. Emigration Committees were formed in the Northern States, and respectable agriculturists, with their families, went in considerable bands. Then came the time of trial. The slaveholding party also sent settlers, and the "Border Ruffians" of Missouri invaded the Territory. Very soon a pro-slavery governor was appointed, and a code of infamous laws was passed against Abolitionists, or those suspected of being such. But even without semblance of law, inoffensive men have been shot, on the bare suspicion of having abolition sentiments. American and English newspapers have revealed chapters of atrocities unparalleled in modern history. More than a hundred young men have been imprisoned in a noisome prison: two of these are now released by death, and others are daily looking for the same messenger of liberation. The sufferings of the women and children are very great.

Under these circumstances, *Kansas-Aid Committees* have been formed, and an Appeal has been issued on behalf of these sufferers. An agent, Mr. Arny, sent to make inquiry and distribute aid in Kansas, writes:

"There is much suffering in various parts of the territory. Numbers of families are entirely destitute, and must suffer much during winter, unless assisted. These are the settlers who went into the Territory and took up and improved their claims two years ago, and have remained there through all the troubles, and choose to stay and fix their homes there for life. In the first district, near Indianapolis, a family of five motherless children, the oldest seven years old, was found in a state of starvation; the father a prisoner in Leecompton. On the Santa Fé road sickness is prevalent, which has been caused by the improper diet, the residents having been unable to procure any thing better than pumpkins and green corn. Whole families were so prostrated, as to be unable to help each other. One hundred families are located on the head-waters of Neosha, many of whom are naked below the knees, bare-headed and bare-footed; and women so destitute of clothing, that they are ashamed to be seen. Forty families out of sixty, near Council Grove, have been obliged to leave for want of food, having lived on corn grated by hand while there."

Mr. Arny says, in conclusion:

"Not a day passed, during my stay in Kan-

sas, that my heart was not touched at witnessing the suffering and destitution that it was not in my power to relieve. The 500 dollars, sent by the *Ladies' Aid Society*, was divided and forwarded to the most destitute localities. A thousand dollars which I had given to the Central Committee to purchase provisions and medicines, to supply the sufferers as far as it would accomplish that purpose. The clothing, provisions, &c., brought by Colonel Eldrige and myself, will relieve much suffering; but, fellow-citizens, it is but a tithe of what will be required by these noble men and women, ay, and *children too*, who have been, and are, suffering in Kansas for freedom's cause—their cause, and your cause."

General Pomeroy writes:

"Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 22, 1856.

"MY DEAR SIR—The prairie fires have spread over our rich rolling grass-fields, and a terrible fire of war and passion has burned up every green thing in society and in our comforts, and our prospects are dark and dreary. There are men, women, and little children, who are reaping a harvest of sorrow from seed sown by invaders from Missouri and the South. I visited, the other day, a family of six little girls: their mother left them, sorrowfully, last spring for 'that undiscovered country!' Their father, a noble man, is a prisoner at Leecompton; and for a month the oldest girl, of twelve years, had to support all the little ones by getting corn from the fields and grinding it upon a tin pan, punched full of holes with a nail, then making a cake and baking it with the ashes. I am unused to weeping; but I wept like a child at such a scene. I could only supply them temporarily, and commend them to the Great Shepherd, 'who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' Oh, what a record of sorrow and crime stands charged to this administration! There are scores of men unknown to fame who lie sleeping in their bloody shrouds, uncoffined, without a stone to mark their resting-place. The day before yesterday we followed to the grave Mr. Bowles, who died a prisoner in Leecompton. He came here from a Slave State to get away from Slavery, and early identified himself with the bravest defenders of freedom.

There are over a hundred of our young men now in prison, and some are sick—all confined for acts and efforts which an angel might envy. There are, I trust, other days dawning upon us.

'Oppression shall not always reign;

There comes a brighter day,

When Freedom, Truth, and Right

Shall have eternal sway.'

"Cordially and truly,

"S. C. POMEROY.

"The Rev. S. Wolcott."

The Appeals from which we have quoted are especially addressed to the Free States of America; but is there not a claim of humanity which appeals to humane Scotland—a voice from down-trodden liberty which appeals to our liberty-loving-land? Scotland has never turned a deaf ear to such a voice, even when it is not, as in this case, on behalf of those of her own kindred, tongue, and ancestry. A little substantial sympathy for these sufferers under the most oppressive

and lawless of despotisms would furnish an important testimony on behalf of freedom. A small sum of money has already been handed to the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* for transmission, and they would be very glad to be entrusted with additions from any who wish to testify in this way against oppression. The aid thus contributed will be applied strictly to the relief of sufferers, and not to the purchase of arms.

The following Note from Lady Byron will be read with interest. It is addressed to Mrs. Stowe:

"October 18, 1856.

"DEAR MRS. STOWE—Will you kindly undertake, in transmitting my subscriptions towards the relief of the sufferers in Kansas, to secure this point—that the money shall not be applied to the purpose of *providing arms*? It is, however, intended as an expression of sympathy with those who have resisted oppression at the hazard of life and property; and I cannot but hope that such sympathy is felt as warmly by many here, as by

"Your's most truly,

"A. T. NOEL BYRON."

The "enclosed" was a draft for 65*l.* sterling.

The following Gentlemen have kindly consented to receive Subscriptions:

A. and C. BLACK, 6 *North Bridge*.

A. CRICKSHANK & SONS, 57 *George St.*

A. FYFE, Esq., S.S.C., 21 *St. Andrew Sq.*

W. P. KENNEDY, Esq., 15 *St. Andrew St.*

J. MACLAREN, Bookseller, 139 *Princes St.*

J. B. MURDOCH, Jun., Esq., Advocate, 8 *Manor Place*.

W. OLIPHANT & SONS, 7 *South Bridge*.

SHEPHERD & ELLIOT, 15 *Princes Street*.

R. STEPHENSON, 13 *Leith Street*.

J. TURNBULL, Esq., 50 & 51 *North Bridge*.

Subscriptions may also be paid to the following Members of the *Ladies' Emancipation Committee*:

President—MRS. WIGHAM, 10 *Salisbury Rd.*

Treasurer—MISS DUNCAN, 1 *Heriot Row*.

MRS. M'LAREN, *Newington House*

MISS GRANT, 15 *Graham Street*.

MISS PATERSON, *Wardie Villa*.

MRS. ARMOUR, 18 *Buccleuch Pl.*

MISS TODD, *Vue Villa Cottage Wardie*.

MRS. MUSHET, 33 *Nicolson St.*

Secretaries—MRS. LILLIE, 1 *Newington Place*.

MISS WIGHAM, 5 *Gray Street*

Edinburgh, Dec. 10, 1856.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

WE beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following sums since the publication of our last list:

	Donations.	Subscript.
Aked, Thomas, <i>Bradford</i> . . .	1	0 0
Allen, Richard, <i>Dublin</i> . . .	1	0 0
Alexander, G. W., <i>Reigate</i> . 50	0 0	
Ball, William, <i>Tottenham</i> , . .	2	2 0
Ball, Mrs., <i>Cheltenham</i> . . .	1	1 0
<i>Banbury Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i>	5	0 0
Barrett, J., <i>Croydon</i>	3	3 0
Bottomley, G., <i>Bradford</i> . . .	0	10 0
Braithwaite, J. <i>London</i> , (2 yrs.)	2	2 0
Buxton, Sir E. N. Bart., <i>London</i>	20	0 0
Capper, Mrs., <i>Cheltenham</i> . . .	1	0 0
Cash, S., <i>Peckham</i> , (2 yrs) . . .	2	0 0
<i>Cirencester Anti-Slavery Society</i>	3	0 0
Clutterbuck, Mrs., <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	10 0
Collection in boxes (per R. Hutchinson), <i>Exeter</i> . . .	0	10 0
Cumming, Miss M. A., <i>Cheltenham</i>	1	1 0
Dent, William, <i>Marr</i>	1	0 0
Dillwyn, Mrs. S. A., <i>Leamington</i>	0	5 0
<i>Falmouth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i> . . .	1	1 0
Forster, Robert, <i>Tottenham</i> , . .	1	1 0
Forster, J., ditto	3	3 0
Forster, W. E., <i>Bradford</i> . . .	1	0 0
Fothergill, T. Esq., <i>Cheltenham</i>	1	0 0
Fothergill, Miss, ditto	1	0 0
Gurney, Miss A., <i>Cromer</i>	1	1 0
Harris, H., <i>Bradford</i>	1	0 0
Harris, Alfred, ditto	1	0 0
Harris, Sarah, ditto	0	10 0
Harris, F., <i>London</i> , (2 yrs.) . . .	2	2 0
<i>Helston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i>	1	0 0
Janson, William, <i>Tottenham</i> . . .	2	2 0
Miles, Edward, <i>London</i>	0	10 6
Moreland, J., <i>Croydon</i>	2	2 0
Morton, D., <i>Perth</i>	0	5 0
Neatby, J., ditto (2 yrs.)	4	4 0
Paull, E., <i>Peckham</i> (2 yrs.) . . .	1	1 0
Peck, J. <i>London</i> , (2 yrs.)	2	2 0
Peile, G., <i>Whitehaven</i>	1	1 0
Priestman, J., <i>Bradford</i>	1	0 0
Rathmell, Mary, ditto	1	0 0
Snowden, Ann, <i>Bradford</i>	0	10 0
<i>St. Ives Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, Hunts.</i>	1	10 0
Sterry, R., <i>London</i> (2 yrs)	4	4 0
Stansfield John, ditto	0	5 0
Sterry, J., ditto	2	2 0
Sterry, J., Jun., ditto, (2 yrs.)	1	1 0
Stevenson, Anne, <i>Ipswich</i>	2	0 0
Sturge, J., <i>Birmingham</i> . 50	0 0	
Tregelles, R., <i>London</i> (2 yrs.) . .	1	0 0
Yerbury, Miss, <i>Cheltenham</i> , . . .	1	1 0
Wedgeood, Mrs. Sarah, (Executors of)	50	0 0